Islam in the modern world

Vol. I
Religion, Ideology and Development

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Published by
Dar Kebaa Bookshop
58 Elhegaz st. - Amoun tower's – Heliopolis

The Book: **Islam in The Modern World**

Vol. I Religion, Ideology and Development

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Legal Deposit : 18258/99

International Number : I S B N 977-303-229-9

Date of Publication : 2000

Printing House: **Dar Kebaa for printing, publishing and distribution** (Abduh Gharib)

Egyptian Associated Company

Administration: **58 Hegaz St., Amoun Tower Building, 1st floor, Apt. 6.**

☎ **2462562 Fax: 2474038**

Distribution: **10 Kamel Sidki St., Faggala, (Cairo).**

☎ **5917532** ✉ **122, Faggala**

Islam in The Modern World



Didicat

To My colleagues who made me understand why philosophers wrote on human passions.

Hassan

Preface

These collected papers are written mostly during 1978 – 94 over sixteen years after the first collection covering the period 1971 – 75. They all fit with the title “Islam in the modern world”

The first Volume : Religion, Ideology and Development” contains four chapters.

The second Volume : Tradition, Revolution and Culture” contains five chapters.

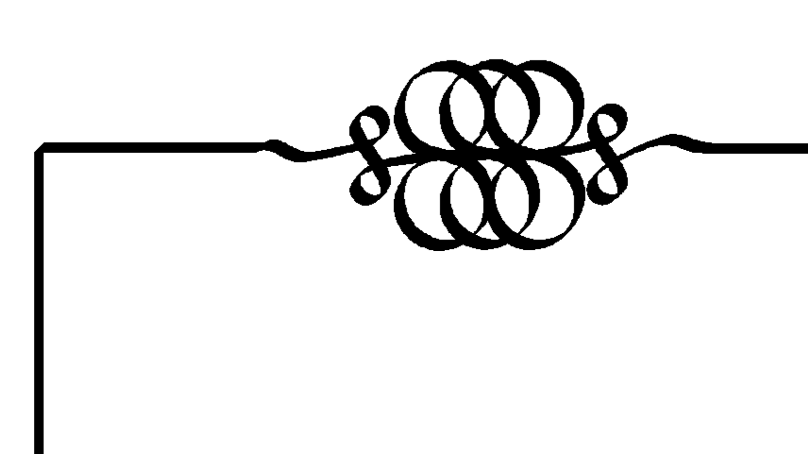
I would have preferred this book to appear in South Africa, Malaysia or the U.S.A. after being edited, but waiting too long makes the data obsolete.

I decided hatively to launch this edition in Cairo, promessing a second one, more perfect.

This is the second edition hoping for more perfection[1].

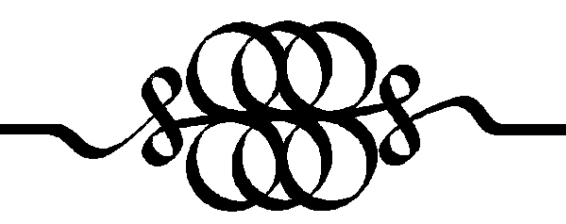
Hassan Hanafi Nasr cit y, Februar y,1995

(1) This second edition was made by a grant from Ford Foundation.



Theology, Mysticism
and Ethics.





IDEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

Human development encompasses economic growth. It includes essentially a reconstruction of value-systems and worldviews. It would be an impossible endeavor to realize stable and permanent economic growth without a parallel effort to reconstruct the mass-culture's concepts of work, production, effort, purpose, and service. Any social change would also be impossible if it were not guaranteed by a simultaneous change in the masses' worldviews towards egalitarianism and community life. Cultural revolution is the condition of political revolution. Nasserism realized the most spectacular process of development and social change: nationalization, Egyptianization, public sector, agrarian reform, industrialization, the reconstruction of the High Dam. It gave to Egypt an authentic political orientation based on nationalism, socialism, Arabism and non-alignment. But, because there was no simultaneous and parallel reconstruction of the mass culture, Nasserism generated its own negation, namely the open door policy, the priority of the private sector, the infiltration of foreign investments, the priority of importation of foreign goods over national production, and new political orientations based on dependency, capitalism, isolationism and alignment. Maoism succeeded because it completed the process of social change by accomplishing a parallel process of reconstructing traditional value-systems (Confucianism) as a political ideology, paving the way to development [(1)].

(١) International Studies Association, 23rd Annual Convention, March 24-27,1982, Stouffer's Cincinnati Towers, Cincinnati, Ohio, USA.

Therefore, development in traditional societies is conditioned upon effecting this passage from religion and popular traditions to political ideology. Religion in the Third World is the only carrier of national goals and is the embryo of political ideology.

The reconstruction of a belief-system as a political ideology protects Third World nations from traditional conservatism, the basis of reactionary regimes,and from Western oriented secularism, the basis of the threat of Westernization. It is the only way by which social change can occur through continuity. The national identity is preserved through a rigorous and conscious passage from Tradition to Modernity.

The following model can be proposed for a reconstruction:

1 - From God to Land.

Believing in God is the cornerstone of all belief-systems. In moments of crisis or of extreme joy, the word "God" is uttered. It gives consciousness its vision and even its existence. God represents the highest Value and the Absolute Being. He created the world as the primary Cause, and the world returns to Him as the Final Cause. He judges all human beings according to their deeds. He is the Eternal; and before Him everything else perishes. This belief, if coupled with a national ideology, would give the masses a strong commitment to a High Cause, a complete dedication to a national goal and a readiness to sacrifice. However, the concept of god as it is transmitted from the tradition is void. God is self-subsistant. He does not need anything to persist. God is the Necessary Being.

Everything except Him is contingent. Can development occur within such a conceptual void, without transition from God to Land? Fortunately, God and Land are correlated in many religious traditions. In fetishism God is the Mana inherent in everything. In Judaism, God gave the Promised Land to Abraham through the Covenant. In Islam, God and Earth are one unity as described more than one hundred times in the Qur'an. He is the "God of the Heavens and of the Earth." A transformation of meaning from within the traditional belief-system would give the conceptual void a real content, namely Land, which is the subject matter of development. Believing in God, therefore, means working in the Land, producing from the Land, discovering mines, drilling. Land, being a correlate to God, becomes a value. Development would be perceived, now and then, as the fulfillment of a Divine Imperative. Working in the Land would be the only way by which a believer lives with God [(2)].

2 - From Eternity to Time

Eternity is another cornerstone of every religious tradition. God is eternity, infinite, without beginning or end. Man's goal is eternity. He looks for it and prepares himself for eternal life. In Christianity, the kingdom of Heaven is equivalent to eternity, the ultimate good in

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(٢) There is now an entire branch of Theology called "Theology of Land," serving that purpose. The "Enlandisement" of God is one of the major themes in modern Jewish theology. See "Theology of Land: God, Community and Land" in our book, "Religious Dialogue and Revolution", p. 125-81, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo, 1977.

Christian ethics. In Asian religions (Buddhism, Confucianism, Brahmanism, Taoism) everything is absorbed in eternity.

How could development occur in a tradition oriented towards eternity? Since development means stages in time, to be followed according to plan, a rediscovery of time within eternity becomes necessary. Every sector needs the notion of time, of cycles, and of rhythms. Agriculture is based on seasons and cycles indicating growth within time. Industry requires time for working hours and for production. Commerce is conditioned by punctual transportation according to market needs. Tourism has its high and low seasons. Drilling and waiting for an oil strike are actions in time.

It is easy in every tradition to discover the temporal within the eternal. The incarnation in Christianity reveals this intercession between Eternity and time. Election in Judaism plays the same role. Religious leaders such as prophets, seers, diviners, and magicians assume the same function. In Islam, the prayers (Salat) take place five times a day. Every prayer in its proper time. Fasting occurs during a determined month of the year (Ramadan); sharing one's wealth (Zakat) is a yearly obligation. The pilgrimage (Hajj) is performed during a special month. All these give the believer an acute sense of time. Working now for fear of dying tomorrow makes the work of the present urgent and necessary. But a question arises: How is this sense of time actually to be reinterpreted to support development? Can the image of the oriental wiseman be transformed to the image of the peasant in the field and the worker in the factory?

3 - From Predestination to Free Will

The right of God to be Omnipotent and the right of man to be free, the main issue of every Asian religion, are compatible. However, in traditional societies the balance between the two poles is not even. Predestination prevails over free will. This is one aspect of underdevelopment on the level of mass-culture and belief-systems. Autocratic regimes defend predestination in order to subdue the will of the people and to prevent them from taking any initiative. Although Max Weber considers Calvinism and the Protestant Ethic as the foundation of the spirit of capitalism, liberalism in the 17th century was the ideology from which capitalism took birth. In developed countries, pietism may have helped in generating economic growth, with regard to the satisfaction it gave to both rich and poor. In under-development countries, the lack of free will and the supremacy of predestination is one of the causes of bureaucracy and centralization.

It is easy in every religious tradition to discover elements supporting free will, in order to make the balance between Divine Will and human will more even without Jeopardizing the Divine right. Giving absolute priority to free will in certain traditions may be very beneficial for development. What matters is not the preservation of Divine attributes such as Omnipotence, but the affirmation of free will, human power and the capacity of man to develop and to produce. In Islam, individual responsibility is highly affirmed. Man is born free of sin and does not need external salvation. Man is the vice-gerant of God

on Earth, fulfilling His Will and realizing the contents of revelation as an ideal structure of the world.

4 - From Authority to Reason

The eternal quarrel between the argument of authority and the argument of reason is very relevant to this issue of development. In underdeveloped countries, authoritarianism prevails. Almost all major political, social and economic decisions are made from "above". The ruling elite is the "dynamo" at the very center of the decision-making process. The stability of most regimes is based upon military coup d'etats or centered on charismatic leaders, kings, princes, or national heroes. Authority can also come from the law through a liberal interpretation, sacrificing its purpose and its content. It can also be deduced from the traditions and the customs of the country.

By contrast, planning, the way to development, cannot be based simply on arguments from authority. It must be based upon data analysis, statistics and goals which can never be obtained except through the arguments of reason. Rationalization, according to Weber, is at the heart of any organization of work. In underdeveloped countries, development suffers from a lack of planning, due to a lack of rationalization in life. Projects are arbitrarily conceived, linked to persons, not to real needs, and then tied to personal interests. Partial or unbalanced development is a clue to the absence of a wholistic view. Islam, as a religion without mystery and without authority,

would permit very easily the use of reason. Reason is equal to Revelation, and both are equal to Nature.

5 - From Theory to Action

It is well-known that Third World ideologies of development carry many slogans without any implementation. Almost every leader is a theoretician. Ideologists concurred in shaping theories which transferred the battle from the field and the factory to doctrines and counter-doctrines. Intellectuals waged wars among themselves, each one anathematizing the other, considering himself the carrier of the true theory. Debates, controversies, declarations, congresses and conventions are held to announce new formulations of doctrines as if they were church councils. Real problems and issues are treated with much less attention, and production becomes stagnate.

Although every religion appeals for action, this appeal has not yet been used for the sake of development. Feeding the hungry is not a matter of charity, but rather requires work and production. No consolation would come to the poor without enriching them through the increase of their production. Rituals and symbolic acts can be easily widened to become real actions in the world. Ethical deeds can also be stretched to become economic deeds. Otherwise, compassion with the wretched of the earth is empty humanism. In Islam, the good deed is the only manifestation of faith. Faith without works is null and void. Right action based on a wrong theory has more value than a right theory without any

action. A wrong action based on a right theory is much better than a right theory without action. The famous transformation in human perception from Logos to Praxis, as elaborated by Marx, or Goethe's "In the beginning was the Action," or even the practical aspect found in Asian religions, can serve tremendously in the process of development [3].

6 - From Charisma to Mass-participation

Development not only consists of ideology and planning, but also the actualization of a process, the implementation of plans and the realization of national goals. In the Third World, this process is carried on usually by the state apparatus, headed by the charismatic leader, who conceives, plans, and fulfils development projects. Mass participation in development planning or in the implementation of these plans is nonexistent. Religious traditions in underdeveloped societies helped in stressing the importance of charismatic leadership, given the existence of religions based on prophethood or priesthood. The center of a traditional religion is a distinguished person having exceptional powers. The political leader is seen as the savior or the redeemer. However, in every religious tradition, ingredients of mass-participation exist. The Catholic mass is inconceivable without a congregation. Liturgy is a communal act. Similarly, community spirit is at the heart of Islam. Community prayer has more value than individual prayer.

(٣) M. Buber participated in this transformation of value systems by switching from reading the Torah as the highest value to Laboring the Land.

The purpose of fasting is to feel the presence of others. Pilgrimage may double as an annual convention for community planning. The value of a believer is his participatien in the life of the community. Religious peoples have been present through out history. They built the Pyramids, followed Moses, and participated actively and zealously in all religious wars.

7 - From Soul to Body

Almost all religious traditions concentrate their beatific vision on the soul. The body is perishable and the soul is immortal. Since the believer is aiming at eternal life, he cannot obtain his aim except through the eternal soul. Piety is considered in this context as an internal value, linked to truthfulness and sincerity of the common man. Knowledge and science are not necessary for piety. Therefore, for traditional belief, development means simply purification of the soul. Spiritual development is the traditional alternative to material development.

Since the problem in the Third World is global development, material development included, a shift in concentration from the soul to the body is necessary in mass-culture. The problems of the body are the major problems of Third World countries, namely hunger, drought, housing, transportation. The soul is fine. The traditional value-system, based on solidarity, sacrifice, love, brotherhood, is still important for work. The desire of the soul for education and learning is great, but the problem is one of the body, namely, building schools. That is why Camilo Torres, the

revolutionary priest cried: "How can we prove that the soul is immortal since the body is mortal"[4].

The presence of the body is visible in every religious tradition: mummies in Ancient Egyptian Religion, the immortality of matter in Asian religions, the resurrection of the body in the Abrahamic religions. Christianity provided the symbol of God becoming Flesh. In Islam, the emphasis is strongly put on the importance of the body and of the world. Thus, development becomes possible through body perception.

8 - From Eschatology to Futurology

In every religion, eschatology is the most spiritual part. John's Apocalypse is very significant. Judaism became a spiritual religion after the completion of its eschatology, during the captivity in Babylon. But the concept of an "end" was not only strongly tied to the concept of purpose or aim as it appears from the German word Zweck, which means at the same time both end and aim, where the end was also conceived outside the world, not inside it. The end of time was stressed, not the purpose of time, as was the end after death, rather than the aim in life. Eschatology, indeed, plays in human consciousness the role of Theology. Theology in philosophy is the source of futurology in the human sciences. Since development requires planning, and planning requires a concept of the future, the passage from

(٤) “Torres: The Revolutionary Priest" in H. Hanafi. "Contemporary Issues,” Vol 1, p 281-318, Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, Cairo 1976 (Arabic).

eschatology to futurology is necessary in every religious tradition in the developing countries.

In Islam, the religion of many developing countries, this passage can be easily accomplished. Eschatology means the future of man and of the world. Man has to prepare himself for a better future and to make this world the best possible world. The world has an immanent Telos in it, from the good, to the better, to the best, as presented in Mu'tazilite Theology the law of al-Salah Walaslah. Eschatology is more than a theology of hope, as is the case in modern Christian theology [(5)]. It is a real philosophy of history based essentially on the idea of progress. Prophecy, which means progress in the past, is completed by eschatology, which means progress in the future [(6)].

This proposed model of "Ideology and Development" based on the passage from Tradition to Modernism and the reconstruction of traditional value-systems as a political ideology for developing countries, is only one model among other possible models. Reading the present in the past and finding the past in the present World is an exercise that differs from one country to another, depending on the specific situation of every country, its present circumstances and its type of tradition [(7)].

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(٥) E. Bloch. Das Prinzip Hoffnung. P 1, 11. Berlin, 1955; E. Troeltsch. Protestantism and Progress. Boston, 1958.

(٦) Lessing. The Education of Human Race. Translation and Introduction by H. Hanafi, Dar al-Thaqafa al-Jadida, Cairo, 1977 (Arabic).

(٧) See also, H. Hanafi, "Religious Change and Cultural Domination," in Religious Dialogue and Revolution, pp. 231-243, Cairo, 1977.

An accusation of Idealism can be rejected, since traditional societies are still emotionally and intellectually attached to their traditions. They can develop much deeper, more quickly and easily through values and concepts rather than through "human engineering". The super-structure in the Third World is more efficient in terms of development than is the infrastructure. That is why the transformation of religious traditions into political ideologies is the only way for the Third World to achieve global development [8].

(٨) H. Hanafi. Tradition and Modernism, pp. 56-65, Arab Centre for Research and Publication, Cairo, 1980 (Arabic).

MYSTICISM AND DEVELOPMENT

A Dialogue with Al-Gazali Regarding "Revivification of Religious Sciences (Ihia' Ulum al-Din)or "Revivification of Worldly Sciences" (Ihia'Ulum al-Dunya) (*).

I. Introduction

Mysticism is an integral part of Islamic culture. It is one of the four major traditional (Naqli) rational (Aqli) sciences. After Al Gazali's attack on rational sciences, represented by philosophy, which with Mu'tazilite Theology had carried out Islamic rationalism through four centuries, from the second till the fifth centuries of Higrah. Mysticism intertwined with traditional theology, namely Ash'arism, took over all Islamic sciences in the following seven centuries and during the Ottoman Empire till the modern Reformist movement (1).

II. Historical Birth of Islamic Mysticism

Mysticism took birth in the Islamic world, and since then has become a permanent and absorbing part of its cultural

(*) Paris. UNESCO, 9-10 December, 1985

(١) Al-Ihia' begins the first section on rituals, Ibadat (First chapter) by classification of sciences (the virtue of science, teaching and learning), linking mysticisim with the science of Tawhid and the science of Fiqh, in order to give both the sciences of beliefs and actions mystical foundations. The second chapter deals directly with articles of faith Qawa'id al-Aqua'id, exposing the Ash'arite theology, theory of essence, attributes and acts. From Sam'iyat he chose only one: faith and action. Prophecy and Imamate were dropped. Eschatology was integrated with the fourth section on the saviors, Munjiyate (10 th chapter).

sciences, starting with the political session between Ali and Mu'awiya. What to do? Which part to take? Prophet hood or Statesmanship, Idealism or Compromise? Radicals took the part of Ali, representing legality, authenticity, piety, truthfulness, austerity, and the defense of general interests (Musalih'Amma) of the community (Ummah). Realists, compromisers, careerists and opportunists took the part of Mu'awiya representing the opposite value-system, featuring illegality, inauthenticity, power-politics, persuasion, seduction, avidity for the new accumulated power and wealth, and defense of a rising middle class for a future worldly State apparatus.

Since the defeat of radicalism and the victory of careerism, piety has returned to its own origin in the human soul. The individual, instead of being in the world, chose or was forced to withdraw, and left the world. The majority, instead of being one person with the self for the ideal cause, even with the price of sacrifice and martyrdom, left the public arena, choosing the others for practical life, leaving the cause as a nice dream and abandoning it as pure wishful thought. The self, being incapable of saving the other, saved itself. Instead of moulding the external world, it was pushed back to the internal world. Since the world became refractory to the will, the will dropped the world, its natural field of action, and became void of content. As a subject, it created from itself its own object, becoming at the same time subject and object.

Since radicalism, becoming mysticism, lost its legality in the world, it tried to find substitute legality in the origin of

political thought, the legal code itself, namely the Qur'an. It began to read itself backwards, interpreting the origin itself as the source of mysticism, not the world. The psychological situation of the present projected itself onto the code of the past. The partial historical situation imposed itself on the universal model of human conduct. The Qur'an became mystical reading, the prophet appeared as the chief of mystics, his companions forming the first mystical order [2]. The manipulation of the letter by the impious pushed the mystics towards reality beyond the letter through the image. The fall of the material and visible world in the hands of the impious motivated the mystics to look for another sensible and material word from a higher order, that of the spirit. The Ta'wil was a tool by which mystics realized certain conciliation between themselves and the world, switching from losses to gains, from nothing to everything, and from despair to hope. The texts were psychologyically extrapolated, brought back to emotions and to the lost value-system of the abandoned struggle, as a moral rearmament and spiritual upheaval through patience, reliance, austerity, piety, resignation, asceticism, acceptance. That was the origin of mystical "steps" (Maquamat) and ideology of struggle put upside down, shouting in a battle which is nowhere. Thereby, the political defeat in history was transformed into a spiritual victory outside history. The separation between the ideal and the real became a unity

(٢) In Ihia' the the first section, 8 th chapter is on "good manners (Adab) in reading the Qur'an.

between God and the world. The absolute separation between truth and falsehood became an absolute unity in everything.

So, is the struggle between legality and illegality a hopeless case as it was in the beginning? How many martyrs fell in our times? Did their numbers equal those of early times during the separation of ideal and real? How many revolts occured in our generation, compared to the early ones (Kuruj), since the time of Hussein? Is it possible to restore the order via the ideology of struggle, by returning it to the external world instead of being only active in the internal world? Is it possible to reconstruct the mystical value-system steps (Maquamat) and States (Ahwal) as a real ideology of total struggle, for development and progress?

Mysticism took birth in given historical circumstances, to overcome political and military defeat. But the defeat of the body has been sublimated in the victory of the spirit. Can mysticism now help in overcoming the military, economic and sociopolitical defeat of our time called underdevelopment? Is it possible to reconstruct a mystical value-system, moral steps, psychological states and absolute unity to help modern generations facing their challenges? If they succeed in their performances, obtaining victory, not obtained by previous generations, mysticism would return to the original setting of struggle between truth and falsehood, between legality and illegality, and between piety and impiety.

III - Historical Reasons for the Mystical Option

There are no right and wrong in historical movements, but only social forces, power politics and conflicting hierarchy of values. All fall into historical motivations.

The fifth century for which Al-Gazali wrote “Revivification of Religious Sciences” (Ihia' Ulum al-Din) was characterized by:

1- Pluralism of truth, of approaches, of methods, of premisses and of conclusions was pushed ahead to the extent of equation between the argument and counter-argument, the thing and its opposite, the proposition and its counter-proposition. Pluralism led to skepticism, everything is equal to everything else and to relativism, everything is partly right and partly wrong. Islamic sectarian theology pushed this pluralism to the maximum. Since the spirit of the culture is based on the existence of a universal truth which does not vary from one person to another, a reaction to this pluralism was necessary to defend the unity of truth, vision and reality. A call for returning back to the source is made to bring the cultural periphery, to the revealed center. That is why in the first section of “Ihia',” the last three chapters are on Qur'anic and prophetic recitations.

2- Reason became a source of knowledge parallel to revelation and even identical to it. In case of opposition between the text and rational evidence, the text is interpreted according to reason. Eschatology became mere images for more spiritual

values such as happiness, joy of knowledge and beatitude. The danger came from Mu'tazilite Theology as well as from philosophy. The cunning of reason was a justified reason to call for intuition,insight and inspiration. A reaction was necessary to maintain revelation and textual arguments, and to defend the correspondence between revelation and reality, over and beyond rational evidence. That explains why "Ihia' Ulum al-Din" adopted scriptural arguments in all its four sections and forty chapters, even with weak narratives.

3- The five pillars of Islam were transformed into pure ritual forms without contents, movements without thought, member articulations without spiritual elevations. The Fiqh, that is, legal acts according to their conformity to the law, superseded acts, motivations and final causes. That is why in the Ihia, the whole first section is on rituals (Ibadat), giving their internal reasons or secrets to counter-balance external forms.

4- The Muslim World at that time reached a high degree of prosperity and wealth. The accumulation of capital through trade was tremendous. The style of life was characterized by opulence, pomp and worldliness, as a continuation of the old trend, begun with the victory of impiety and the defeat of piety in the first century. Against this worldly and materialistic trend, mysticism reacted in order to rebalance the spiritual world or at least to make the struggle even.

5- In response to external threats and military invasions of the Mongols from central Asia or from the Crusaders from

Western Europe, Islam returned to it's soul, folding up within itself as a defensive mechanism against the outside world. This is also behind modern fundamentalism in the Muslim World, facing threats of military, economic and cultural invasions, penetrating its borders. Social customs and manners have to be protected against imitation of the outsiders and in defense of specificity in praxis, thus the upsurgence of Islamic ritualism. The second section of the Ihia'is an affirmation of Islamic customs ('Adat), having in mind social relations and practices (Mu'amalat).

Nowadays, some of these reasons are no longer present. The historical situation changed, and a new situation has arisen:

1- Pluralism, which was one of the glorious moments of Islamic culture in its golden age, was behind the Islamic classical renaissance. However, since the Muslim world lost it, Muslim societies were reduced to the most horrible unilateralism, represented by the one party system, one Thinker, one Ruler, one Truth, one Hero. The actual crisis of political opposition in the Muslim World comes from the absence of an intellectual justification for it, given the absence of the alternative for the sake of the unilateral option as a historical continuum. Pluralism now is not a vice as it was in the time of Ihia', but a virtue. The mystical option, aiming at bringing back the whole Muslim World and culture to the source, was a virtue, but may now be a vice, if it means unilateralism and textualism. A pluralistic universe in which all options are proposed again is much more useful for the Muslim world nowadays than the old unilateral option.

2- Reason, which led in the time of Ihia' to skepticism, relativism and agnosticism, and was a vice, is nowadays an urgent need for the Muslim world and a high virtue. All reformist movements struggled for more rationalism to counter-balance fideism, such as M. Abdou in "Risalat al-Tawhid," switching from Asha'risim to Mu'tazilism, if not in the theory of Unity, at least in the theory of justice (Adl), by recognizing the rational and universal judgments on good (Husn) and bad (Qubh). Nowadays, some of the major obstacles of development is illiteracy, a mystical world view, depending on miracles, overwhelming emotionalism and rhetoric. Reconstruction of reason nowadays is more adequate than the destruction of reason in classical mysticism.

3- Ritualism, nowadays, continues as before, pure forms void of contents, appearances without realities, and members articulations without final cause. The old mystical solution was the spiritualization of rituals, the interiorization of movements, the transformation of the acts of the organs to acts of the heart. In development, what is needed is social action, the transformation of rituals to social contents as they were originally conceived in the law: unity of utterance as political opposition by the double act of negation (la Ilaha), and of affirmation (illa Allah), included in the witness (Shahada); prayers as the sense of time; alms as social action and symbolic redistribution of wealth; fasting as social cohesion; pilgrimage as mutual community, consultation and the unity of the Umma.

4- Nowadays, reaction to accumulated wealth by denying it is almost impossible, unpractical and a purely individual option. Ethical exhortations are even used as cover-up for continuous joys of life or open justifications for legal enjoyment of legal earnings. Such spiritual exercises are usually practiced by the poor and oppressed classes as compensation for their misery. A social reaction to the worldly and mundane trend is the engagement of the whole society in the national cause of development. The commitment of the whole nation in development as national project would prevent it from falling into this dualism between materialism and spiritualism.

5- A reaction to the military invasions of the Muslim World from the West or from the East can cause a certain kind of a folding-up of the self, returning to its origin, holding to its sounds and finding refuge in the unconquered soul. This is natural and normal, but not as unilateral reaction, since this step back is only a prerequisite for a second step forward, a counter offensive to external invasions, mobilizing all the sources of powers: physical and moral, material and spiritual, would also nowadays be a natural and normal reaction. This would prevent the Muslim World from falling into another dualism between mysticism and military professionalism.

Big challenges of our time in developing countries, in the third world or in Afro-Asia world, new names for the Muslim world through the criteria of global development, can be summarized in seven observations:

1- Liberation of the land from external domination to complete the process of total decolonization, which began again with the heroic and romantic decade of the 1960s (Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Eritrea, Mindanao), as a continuation of the huge reformist movement initiated by Al-Afghani, and includes the liquidation of all military bases, along with the cancellation of all military pacts and treaties.

2- Liberation of the Peoples from internal oppresion of dictatorships, royal or military, from the usurpation of legal power and the rule of law, beyond mass consent and people's delegation of power.

3- Equity and social justice in the distribution of national wealth to solve the problem of accumulated capital in the hands of a few and the expansion of poverty in the majority, and to implement socialism, an urgent need of our time.

4- Reunification of the Muslim World after its dismantling by the foreign powers, imposing artificial borders in order to create border clashes, initiating wars between enemy-brothers.

5- Affirmation of identity against all forms of alienation, especially Westernization, a left-over of colonialism on the level of culture and social behavior.

6- Global development of societies for increase of production, self-sufficiency in food, industrialization, public services and building the necessary infrastructure for the satisfaction of human basic needs.

7- Mass-mobilization for people's participation in political, economic and social development to support State's implementations and to counter-balance centralization and bureaucratization.

Can mysticism help in accepting these major challenges of our times as it helped as a self-defense mechanism against internal and external threats of the old times?

Mysticism is an ideology of struggle put upside down, of internal and spiritual victory of the self against the other by abandoning the world of defeat to maintain the super-world of victory. Therefore it is easy to bring it back to the real world and try to bring the ideology of struggle back to the world. Is it possible to switch again from the vertical to the horizontal, from upwards to downwards, from negative values to positive values?

Since mysticism as a road (Tariqa) contains three phases: the moral phase, the ethico-psychologlical phase and the metaphysical phase, is it possible to utilize these phases and their major components in the process of development? [3]. Is it possible to switch the components of the moral phase from the soul to the

(٣) The same three phases appear in the historical development of mysticism: the moral phase in the first three centuries (the early ascetics and weepers in the first century, Rabi'a Al-Adawiya and Al-Hasan Al-Basri in the second and Thu Al-Nun and Al-Junaid in the third), the ethico-psychological phase in the fourth and fifth centuries (Al-Hallaj in the fourth century, and Al-Gazali in the fifth); and the metaphysical phase in the sixth and.seventh centuries (Al- Suhrawardi, Ibn Al-Farid and Ibn Arabi in the sixth and 1bn Sab'in in the seventh).

body? from interiority to exteriority? from individual ethics to social politics? from secluded meditation to open action? And from mystical orders to socio-political movements? Is it possible to change the components of the psychological phase from passive values to active values and from ethico-psychological states to social struggle? Is it possible to reconstruct the metaphsical phase from the vertical dimension to the horizontal dimension, from moral steps to periods of history, from the other world to this world, and from imaginative unity to realized unification? If this is done, the old Mahdiyya and Senousiya will return. The Zawiya and the Ribat will recover their militant functions. If mystics and mystical orders propagated Islam in earlier centuries, they are capable of defending Muslim societies this century.

IV - Reconstruction of the Moral Phase

In the moral phase, mysticism appeared as an ethical science aiming at moral perfection of the individual. If society is lost, at least the individual can be manintained. The question now is: Is society, lost forever, or can it be recovered? Development begins with the assumption that a society exists and that its development is possible. The question is how to shift again from the individual to society and from ethics to politics?

1- From the Soul to the Body. Since one early crisis from which mysticism originated was caused by the avidity of the soul, the ambition of the will, the destruction of values, the impurity of the heart, and the corruption of behavior, mysticism reacted

positively and returned to purify the soul by spiritual exercises, the refinement of morals, the cure of "heart diseases". Nowadays, the problems are different: hunger, malnutrition, lack of decent clothing and habitation. If all problems in the past were related to the soul, all the problems of the present are related to the body [4].

2 – From Interiority to Exteriority. Since old mysticism opened a new world of interiority as compensation for the material world of exteriority, everything was interiorized, text, language, phenomena, truth. Everything had a double-meaning, since reality has a double face. If social and political powers usurped the external, mysticism maintained the internal, something similar to modern political jargon, often heard after the 1967 defeat: “our arms are defeated but our will is not;” “We 1ost a battle but not the war.” In the development era, what creates a problem is the external world, rural as well as urban development, Industrialization, exploitation of national resources, digging for new sources of underground water to solve the problem of drought, reclamation of land, constructing houses, building roads and creating a whole infrastructure for public services. Sociopolitical powers controlling the external world can be changed, since there is no development without power.

3 - From Individual Ethics to Social Politics. Since one of the major reasons for the birth of old mysticism was the

(٤) In classical treatises on mysticism, there are always chapters on the soul, the spirit and the secret, but rarely on the body. See As Jurists, Theologians and Philosophers Do. Kushairi, Risala, p. 44-45. (Subeh library edition).

corruption of individual ethics, even with the risk of giving social phenomena Individual interpretation, a natural reaction was to promote moral upheaval for the individual and to create a new ethical code. In Ihia', six of ten chapters in the third section on Muhlikate disapprove of individual vices such as anger, rancor, envy, avarice, avidity, hypocrisy, conceit, and arrogance, in order to purify the heart from the love of wealth and material things in this World.

4 - From Secluded Meditation to Open Action. After the defeat of piety and the victory of impiety and after many unsuccessful efforts to restore the world to the control of law and truthfulness, and in spite of the numbers of martyrs in every generation, all of these efforts ended in deadlock. Meditation was the only way left for the pious to express their anxieties, sorrows and hopes. Thinking in the present situation, lamenting the lost piety of early generations, and precipitating the coming of future glory and salvation. All occurred in secret. But now, in spite of the importance of individual thinking and reasoning, open action is necessary for changes. People's participation in development is as important as social planning. Spiritual development is not an alternative for social development, but a complementary requirement for it.

5 - From Mystical Orders to Socio-Political Movements

After the pious returned to their homes after the defeat, isolated from the well established society, they formed their own

closed societies within their own practices and rituals and forming their own orders. Mystic orders now, all over the Muslim World, are organized even better than modern political parties and enjoy the trust of the masses. Is it possible, in this era of development, to switch from closed mystical orders to open social groups, in order to participate in socio-political development? It has been successfully done before in Senousiyya in Lybia, and Mahdiyya in Sudan. The stumbling block of all social movements and political parties, namely the lack of mass participation, would be eradicated, since mystical orders, at the core of religious movements and activities, have the trust of the masses and are already present in streets and market places.

V - Reconstruction of the Ethico-Psychological Phase

The second is the ethico-psychological phase, in which mysticism progressed from practical morality to individual psychology, from a behavioral science to pure psychology of human passions. Mysticism does not deal any more with external actions of behavior, but internal acts of piety. The focus is no more on the members of the body, but only on the acts of the heart. Mysticism now is the science of the secrets of the heart [5]. This science is composed of two sections: moral steps (Maquamat) and psychological states (Ahwal).

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(٥) In Ihia', the third section on dangers (Muhlikat) begins by explaining the wonders of the heart (chapter one) and by educating the soul, refinement of morals and cure of diseases of the heart (chapter two).

A - From Passive to Active Values

Most of classical moral steps (Maquamat) and psychological states (Ahwal) were passive as a last resort, to find support against the victorious enemy (the political evil) and to rely on the retreated good. Moral steps such as repentance, patience, thanks, poverty, asceticism, reliance, and acceptance, are conceived as defensive mechanisms against world avidity and concupiscence. Such moral steps, intertwined with psychological states, are saviors (Munjiyate) from avidity, wealth and concupiscence of the flesh [(6)] Both are moral dangers and causes of perishing (Muhlikat) [(7)]. These passive values of the time aimed at the protection of the few pious people from degeneration and corruption. If the world cannot be saved, at least the self can. If the impious is avid of the whole world, let it be. What will man take if he wins the world and loses his own self? The pious, namely the mystic, prefers poverty against the wealth of the impious, asceticism against avidity, reliance on God against dependence on political power, giving against having, accepting the minimum against asking for the maximum. To what extent has the situation now changed, imposing new defensive mechanisms and requiring the reconstruction of the old value-system? A review of these moral steps makes the answer possible [(8)].

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(٦)Ihia, Section IV, on Saviors (Munjiyate).

(٧) Ihia, Section III, on Dangers (Muhlikate)

(٨) The number of moral steps varies from one mystic to another between seven, nine, eleven or thirteen. The order also changes from one treatise to another, with

1- Repentance (Tawba) is a certain kind of metanoia, a sudden awakeness to the necessity of changing past behaviour immediately, without regrets, and taking a a firm and steady resolution not to return back to it. However, individual sudden awakening is different from social gradual political awareness through several generations.

Repentance is indeed a Qur'anic term which requires human initiative and a desire for change. Both are necessary for development [(9)].

2- Patience (Sabr) previously meant waiting for unexpected solutions without preparing for them, which is a passive patience. But for development, it means a long range preparation for a future victory, after analysing the actual situation, preparing one's self and the others for social change. Patience is also a Qur'anic term, more used as a verb than a noun, to indicate the active aspect. It has a positive meaning, referring to resistance and strong will [(10)]. The social meaning and practices of patience are just the opposite.

3- Thanks (Shukr) in mysticism means the willing acceptance of the minium, without asking for the maximum,

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general agreement on repentance as the first moral step and Fana as the last psychological state.

(٩) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 1, Risala, p. 45-48. The term Tawba is mentioned in the Qur'an 87 times, 20 times with action. Human initiative is 49 times while Divine action is only 38 times.

(١٠) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 2. Risala, p. 84-87; in the Qur'an, the term Sabr appears 103 times, 62 times in verbal form. Only 7 times the term has a negative meaning.

since this minimum is already a prelude for the maximum or may be the maximum itself, which man ignores. Life, senses and nature are already included in the minimum-maximum dialectics. But since the poor and the rich share this minimum-maximum, the question is not about quality but quantity. Passive thanks may create social stagnation and prevent social mobility. It may lead in social practices to humiliation and acceptance of the status quo. Once the minimum is granted, the maximum is abandoned and consequently social justice becomes a remote demand. It is a Qur'anic term, sometimes connected with the maximum, not with the minimum. It is a mutual act between man and God, not a unilateral one from the inferior to the superior [(11)].

4- Poverty (Faqr) in classical mysticism was a rightly positive reaction against avidity, concupiscence, wealth, desire and love of the world. Everybody wanted to have these things, but the mystic did not, as a sign or a symbol for something else, the transcendence of man. Now, poverty is a passive value, an aspect of underdevelopment. Poverty may still be a positive value for the rich but it is obviously a negative value for the poor. The term is Qur'anic, but the meaning is not. Since poverty is a human created situation, poverty comes from the Devil, not from God. Poor is not an attribute of God, while Rich is. Man is

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(١١)Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 2, Risala, p. 80-82; the term is used in the Qur'an 74 times, 45 times as a verb, 28 times as an adjective and only one time as a noun, to indicate the active aspect of thanks.

only poor in relation to God as Rich, not in relation to another man. Poverty is detested as a situation and disapproved and rejected as human condition. The same meanings may be found in development studies: poverty line, poverty curtain [12].

5- Asceticism (Zuhd) in old mysticism is an extreme poverty, poverty of the soul. If poverty cleans the hand from the thing, asceticism purifies the soul from the desire. In an affluent society, everybody takes and desires. Such a value can be positive. But in a society of poverty where nobody has anything, asceticism would be vice. If asceticism is purification of the soul, of worldly desires, would the desire of the poor for water, food and shelter be a sin? Moreover, neither the term nor the meaning is Qur'anic [13].

6- Reliance (Tawakkul) in classical mysticism means dependence on God, neither on nature nor on man. Since the material world was usurped by illegal powers, and since political and social powers are in the hands of the impious, the only dependence left was that of God. Now, all theoreticians of third world development call for self-reliance and dependence on the self, given the mischief and continual exploitation in all theories of dependence and even of interdependence. That is why secular

(١٢) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 4. p. 122-126. The term is used in the Qur'an only 13 times as a noun, not as a verb, only one time as abstract noun and 12 times as an adjective. That means a relative human situation, a subjective aspect in human behavior not an objective fact.

(١٣) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 4, Risala, p. 55-57. In the Qur'an. the term is mentioned only one time as an adjective which means only "do not want."

ideologies of self-reliance are not implemented in practice, since traditional mass-culture is still built on dependence. It is easy to identify external help from God or foreign aid as external factors in development. It is indeed a Qur'anic term, but with double meaning of dependence on God after dependence on one's self through a personal act of a firm decision and rejection of any dependence on human action, even the prophet's action [14].

7- Content (Reda) in old mysticism is a certain kind of satisfaction with the best possible world. Everything is good and perfect. There are no gaps, no wholes and no evil in the world. Everything is full and nothing is void. In development studies, one of the requirements of development is the ability to participate in social change, the desire for social mobility and the necessity of changing the status quo. Discontent for social change is much more effective than contentment. One reason for the weakness of political opposition in the third world comes from the absence of dissent in mass-culture, in which traditional mysticism is a main stream. The term is mentioned in the Qur'an, but it is used sometimes in a negative meaning, with a call not to accept but to refuse. God himself accepts and refuses. Acceptance is more a Divine act than a human act [15].

(١٤) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 5; Risala, p. 75-80. The term is used in the Qur'an 70 times, 42 as an active verb, 7 times on the rejection of dependence on the prophet and 4 times connected with firm resolution.

(١٥) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 6; Risala, p. The term in the Qur'an is mentioned 73 times, 42 as a Divine act and 15 times with negative meaning.

8- Silence (Samt) in classical mysticism is an abstention from uttering any expression in order not to reveal the inner thoughts of the mystic, since he has become a part of the silent opposition and in some cases a member of the underground movement. Silence is safer than expression. Silence is even deeper, not only abstention from speaking with external words but, also from internal speaking. That means the formulation of internal judgment even unuttered and unheard by the self. In political development, how can masses as well as leadership enter any dialogue or exchange ideas without words? Silence is an experience of love or meditation but not of communication. The Muslim world nowadays needs to express itself and speak out. The first article of Fait is utterance, not silence. The word is not Qur'anic. The Qur'anic Verb is to pronounce or to utter (Nataq) which is always an expression of truth. Utterance is not only for human beings but also for things. Utterance is even a Divine Attribute and a criterion of Divinity [16].

9- Servitude ('Ubudiya) means in mystical code a state of extreme worship which reduces the mystic to the state of slavery. This state requires an absolute abandonment of choice and leaving one's self to destiny, without objection or even feeling pain, or having anxiety from hunger, nudity, poverty or humiliation. In such a psychological state, how can development be conceived, since it requires the active participation of the

(١٦) Risala, p. 57-59; The word Nataq is mentioned in the Qur'an 13 times applied to god, to man and to things.

masses, free choices, objections, confrontations and dissent? It is Qur'anic in an affirmative as well as negative form [(17)].

10- Resignation (Taslim) means in old mysticism complete acceptance of whatever situation the mystic finds himself in. It follows reliance and expands on it till the complete reliance ends in final acceptance, without opposition or even questioning, anything. To what extent can this situation of receptivity be helpful or harmful in the process of development? Resignation is precisely the opposite of mass-mobilization and people's active participation. Taslim in the Qur'an means complete and free acceptance of revelation by the believers or complete surrender of the unbelievers, the general consensus of the believing community [(18)] .

11- Eros (Mahabba) and Agape (Shawq). Given the importance of these one or two steps, mystical love became an independent part of moral steps, equated to mysticism itself. Given its extension, sometimes love is a moral step and a psychological state at the same time. Given its abundance, it is everywhere at the beginning of the mystical road, the moral phase in the middle (the ethico-psychological phase) and at the end (the metaphysical phase). It means an extreme dedication to the other, an absolute desire of donation till a complete

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(١٧)Risala, p. 90-92. The word Abad appears in the Qur'an 273 times in different forms, including the negative forms, 123 times in verbal forms which mean only to worship, 97 times as plural nouns, Ibad which mean creatures referring to all human beings, not to individual cases.

(١٨)Risala, p. 32. The word is mentioned in the Qur'an only 4 times, twice for the believers in the first sense and twice for the unbelievers in the second sense.

unification. Al-shawq is an extreme degree of love (mahabba) and its dynamic power. If love is only a state of affection between one another, Al-shawq is the sense of direction from the one to the other. Since love abolishes all contradictions, how far would it be an effective tool in the process of social development? To what extent can love solve the problem of social classes, between those who have and those who have not, between the oppressed and his oppressor? The Qur'anic term refers to love and hate at the same time. God loves the pious and does not love the impious. Love is conditioned by piety. It is a mutual love, a two-way love in which man is the initiator [(19)].

However, some mystical steps are from the beginning active ones. They need only a transformation from the individual level to the social level, such as good intention (al-Niyya), sincerity (al-Ikhlas), truthfulness (al-Sidq), self-surveillance (al-Muraquaba), and self-discipline (al-Muhasaba) [(20)] .

B - From Psychological States to Social Struggle

In crossing moral steps (Maquamat), psychological steps (Ahwal) appear as signposts on the road, as flashes or traffic lights, simultaneously red and green, to halt or to pass an order to complete the previous step or to cross to the following step.

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(١٩) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 6, Risala, p. 143-150. In the Qur'an the word appears 84 times: 39 verbal forms, from which 16 times God loves and 23 times God does not love. God does not love aggression, arrogance, mischief, corrup tion, waste, treachery.

(٢٠) Ihia', Section IV, chapter 7, 8; Risala, p. 95-96.

That is why psychological states go always in pairs, according to dialectics between negation and affirmation: fear (Khawf) and hope (Raja'), drunkness (Sukr) and awareness (Shahw), strangeness (Hayba) and familiarity (Uns), contraction (Qabd) and relaxation (Bast), separation (Farq) and unification (Jam'), absence(ghayba) and presence (Hudur), negation (Mahw) and affirmation (Ithbat), veiling (Satr) and unveiling (Tajalli), farness (Bu'd) and nearness (Qurb), annihilation (Faqd) and "existencialization" (Wajd), self-absorption (Fana') and self-sustainance (Baqa'). The number of the pairs varies from one mystic to another, between, seven, nine, eleven or thirteen. But it always goes in pairs, maybe a sign of the Oneness of the one. The ordering of the pairs, which comes first and which comes after, also varies. But it is certain that the number of the pairs are equal to the number of steps, since the first step, repentance, is without state and the last state, Fana', leads to no step (21).

1- Fear (Khawf) begins when the soul approaches the first step on the mystical road. She can not stand the new splendors she is going to, because she is not used to it. After getting used to it and enjoying the new blessings, fear disappears and the hope (Raja') for more splendors begins. In the actual world dialectics of fear and hope can be manipulated in order to put the masses under control, once by fear and another time by hope. A people

(٢١) We mentioned eleven pairs corresponding to the previous eleven steps. Al Gazali in Ihia' puts both steps and states in the section IV of the saviors (Munjiate) and does not mention them all.

psychologically built on fear will always fear and will be reduced to stagnation and social stability. A society psychologically built on hope will fall into utopian thought and await the realization of dreams for a more hopeful future. In the Qur'an, fear is prescribed as fear from God and prohibited if it is fear of man. God does not fear and believers do not fear either. Hope is not only for spiritual and eschatological matters but also for worldly things such as sex through marriage or knowledge through books. Its link with eschatology makes eschatology a philosophy of hope [(22)].

2- Drunkenness (Sukr) is a red light to stop, since the mystic can no more bear the splendours of the spiritual world. Awareness (Sahw) is a preen light to pursue the road after receiving the shock and absorbing it. In our times, drunkenness is an organic and physical problem, resulting from drugs and intoxication. Awareness is a socio-political problem that all reformers have tried to solve in order to make the people more aware of their existence and their demands. The dialectic of drunkenness and awareness is nowadays a social dialectics between ignorance and knowledge, between alienation and self-determination. Both terms are not Qur'anic terms [(23)].

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(٢٢) Ihia', Section IV, Chapter 3. Risala, p. 59-65. In the Qur'an the term appears 124 times, 40 times negation of fear, 20 times fear of God only. The term Raja exists, and is used 22 times only in verbal forms, indicating hope as an act, not as substance.

(٢٣) Risala, p. 38. Al-Gazali in Ihia' mentioned only the first pair, fear and hope. The other psychological states are mentioned in a mystical treatise, before Al-Gazali and after.

3- Strangeness (Hayba) is again a state of fear and uneasiness vis a vis more unveiled glories of the realm of the spirit. It is a sense of smallness in the world of greatness, a sense of loss in the world of fullness. When the mystic gets used to this new world of strange happenings, he becomes familiar with them and he switches from the state of strangeness to the state of familiarity (Uns). In development, one major issue is mass-mobilization for the cause. The people feel estranged from the process because of its imposed character by the state and bureaucratic institutions. Estrangement leads to disloyalty, and disloyalty leads to permanent disobedience to the State's laws. Once masses are engaged in the process of development, they become a part of it, familiar with and conscious of the whole national project, and consequently loyal to the laws defending their own interests and willingly obeying them. While the term Hayba is not Qur'anic, the term Uns is. It means familarity and recognition of things and sociability with others [(24)].

4- Contraction (Qabd) and relaxation (Bast) are two terms even used in modern cardiology, referring to the double act of the heart pulsation. Contraction occurs when a sudden light strikes the mystic. When he is accustomed to it to his heart begins to expand and widely relaxes to receive more light. In development, crises accumulate, and distresses follow one after the other till a revolution erupts as a sudden solution for

(٢٤) Risala, p. 33-34; the term Uns is used in the Qur'an 6 times in verbal forms, 4 times in recognition of things such as fire (Moses), and family social life.

accumulated problems. The Qur'anic term Qabd means holding things by human beings, or by living creatures, or holding the growing and increasing. It is also linked with the hand to transgress or to defend. Bast finally means the extension of the whole earth. The term is loaded with economic meanings very helpful in financial policies. Growth of knowledge is also linked with material growth [25].

5- Separation (Farq) is a psychological state in which the mystic feels that he has still a long way to go. His goal is too far away, out of reach. Suddenly, the far becomes near and the separtion between the subject and the object ends by the unification (Jam') between the mystic and his goal. In social life, both movements are constant. Separatism of a State usually ends by reunification, if not in reality, then at least as a hope. Separation between social classes is an abnormal situation which ends also in reapproachment between classes and the formation of a unified society. Separation between peoples, cultures and even lovers is also accidental, while unification is more substantial, the old myth of Androgene. In the Qur'an, both words, separation and unification apply, to social groups not to the acts of the heart. Separation between husband and wife, between prophets, between different social groups is a negative act, while separation between

(٢٥) Risala, p. 32, the word Qabd is used in the Qur'an 9 times, 3 only as noun and 5 in verbal forms. Bast is used 25 times, 10 times with earnings and incomes. 8 times with hands, powers and arms in economic, social or military actions and twice for God holding nature. The rest of the usages are with knowledge, body, creature or life.

right and wrong, between good and bad is a positive act. Unification will be the destiny of nature and human beings [26].

6- Negation (Mahw) is like drunkness and absence, a state where the existence of the mystic is completely annihilated since, he is becoming closer and closer to a holier mode of existence like a butterfly approaching light after being attracted to it. Affirmation (Ithbat) is the opposite, the sublimation of the negated existence to a higher mode of existence, where knowledge is identical to reality and perception becomes a vision. In development, the negation of certain modes of social existence and the affirmation of others always occurs, for example landlords in agriculture through agrarian reform, attacking poverty through redistributional processes and socialist laws, realizing a high standard of living by increasing production through industrialization, switching from import-oriented to export-oriented-trade, denying private ownership and affirming community ownership, denying the private sector and affirming the public sector. Negation in the Qur'an is for falsehood, for one text to affirm another, or with affirmation for cyclic movements in nature. All are Divine acts, not human ones. Affirmation means steadiness in war, expressed in different images like standing feet and standing heart. It is also applied to the prophets, and to the

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(٢٦) Risala, p. 37-38; in the Qur'an the term, Ghaiba is used 57 times as a noun, in masculine not feminine; 50 times singular and 7 times plural. The term Hudur is mentioned 24 times, 10 verbs and 14 nouns; of the 14 nouns, 4 are active verbal nouns (Hadir) for good deeds and 10 are passive verbal nouns (Muhdar) for the bad deeds.

believers having firm stands and strong belief, along with other images such as a firm book, a firm word or a firm tree [27].

7- Veiling (Satr) is a certain kind of exercise the mystic finds himself trapped in, in order to incite his curiosity for more knowledge. Perceptions close up, visions disappear, and appearances dominate. This helps the mystic to strengthen his desire to look for the hidden, with great concentration. Finally, unveiling (Tajalli) comes, revealing reality behind appearances. Reality is transfigured and metamorphosed in different levels, corresponding to different depths of the mystic's soul. In development, there are also different levels in social reality. Development as economic growth is only one level, followed by another level, simultaneously deeper and higher, namely social transformation, followed by a thrid level also deepest and highest, namely cultural renaissance and reconstruction of traditional value systems.

Satr in the Qur'an has a negative meaning, to hide, and a positive meaning, to protect. Tagalli means unveiling, God unveils himself to the mountain, or shining like the sun after darkness. It means also revealing knowledge in the proper time [28].

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(٢٧) Risala, p. 39. The term Mahu' in the Qur'an is used 3 times as verbs. The term Ithbat is used 18 times. All of them are verbal forms, except 5 are in nominal forms, not including Ithbat.

(٢٨) Risala, p. 39-80; in the Quran Satr is used 3 times, the first as a verb, the second as a noun, the third as an adjective pronoun. Tagalli is mentioned 4 times as verb: 2 for nature (day after night), one for God, one for knowledge.

8- Farness (Bu'd) is again like veiling, a motivation in the underground of in the mystic's soul, to make his motivation closer and stronger. It is a feeling of a long way to go before arriving at the final destination. Suddenly a metanoia occurs. Farness switches to nearness or closeness (Qurb). A new hope for a safe arrival emerges. In development, the major challenge of our time facing developing societies, we see that goals, processes and indicators of development are greatly analysed. Are societies closer to achieving their goals, or are they still far away? Through which processes? What are the indications? In the Qur'an, farness always has a meaning, usually in relation to the unbelievers, the unjust and the alienated, while the term closeness has a positive as well as negative meaning in relation to promise, victory, repentance, mercy or last judgment. The term refers also to the relatives, the closeness in family relationship. However, man has to keep himself away from the transgression of the law. Closeness is a relative concept since it can be more or less [(29)].

9- Annihilation (Faqd) is a very strong state, more than negation and before the final one, which is the complete self-absorption in the other. Mystic existence is reduced to nothingness

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(٢٩) Risala, p. 42-43; In the Qur'an the term Bu'd is used 36 times, 32 times as an adjective, 3 times as verb, and only one time as a noun. The term Qurb is used 96 times, 33 times as a verb and the rest as a noun. Most of the negative usages are in the verbs and most of the positive usages are in the nouns. Relative closeness is expressed in comparative forms 19 times.

in order to gain another mode of permanent generation without corruption. The new state of "existencialization" emerges from nothingness at the image of creation ex Nihilo. Development as social transformation is just the end of one structure and the beginning of another, at least partially. A radical social transformation is closer to the dialectics between annihilation and “existencialization". In the Qur'an, the term Fqd means only to lose something, or not to find a bird, but never that kind of self-destruction. On the contrary, the term Wajd exists as verb which means simply to find a thing, a person, a group, a promise, a direction, a tradition, but never in the sense of self-creation, that is, making one’s self or somebody else exist, since existence is a self-evident experience [(30)].

10- Self-absorption or disappearance (Fana’) is the highest and last negative state the mystic endures. Not only are his human attributes dropped, but also his substance is metamorphosed in a complete and total absorption in the other. Once this occurs, the positive state appears, self-sustenance or ever lasting existence (Baqa’). Once the goal is attained, the road comes to an end, the journey's final stop. This is what all develop mentalists are working for, achieving development goals and finalizing development processes. In both mysticism and development, the question is the distinction between utopia and reality. The derivative term, fang, is used in the Qur'an only one time to

(٣٠) Risala, p. 34-35; the term faqd is Used in the Qur'an 3 times as a verb. The term Wajd is used 105 times, all in verbal forms.

indicate the perishing of every thing before the last judgment. The term Baqa' and its derivatives refer to God as everlasting, His face, His Grace, His Goodness. They refer also to material things such as posterity, peoples and actions. The negative meaning refers to the perishing of evil and of evil doers [31].

All these philological exercises aim at bringing to earth these psychological states and transforming them to social actions and movements. This transformation is greatly justified by the Qur'an itself describing man in society and in the world, not only man in relation to God.

VI - Reconstruction of the Metaphysical Phase

Once the mystic crosses the heartland of the mystical road, the middle one, he arrives finally at the last stage, which does not require all the previous efforts, since the mystic already has passed all his exams with great success. The third phase, the metaphysical one, is indeed the fruit to be collected, the results to be obtained and the reward to be received. However, even this phase needs to be reconstructed in order that development may be achieved on earth.

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(٣١) Risala, p. 36-37; in the Qur'an, the term Fana' is only used one time, the term Baqa' is used 21 times, 13 times with a positive meaning and 8 times with a negative meaning. these psychological states and transforming them to social actions and movements. This transformation is greatly justified by the Qur'an itself, describing man in society and in the world, not only man in relation to God.

1 - From the Vertical to the Horizontal

Since mysticism directed itself towards the superior, shooting upwards, since the inferior was refractory to the will of the pure, after being usurped by the will of the impure, it is easy to bring it back down to earth. Present generations, at least four, have tried to cope with the world again. Huge efforts have previously been undertaken, first for decolonization and nowadays for development. But these efforts appeared limited because they evaporated or were diverted. If the vertical is transformed to the horizontal and shooting upwards is reoriented downwards, these efforts may become conclusive and productive. If the movement in the mystical road is from the exterior (moral phase), to the interior (ethico-psychological phase), to the superior (metaphysical phase), the movement in development is from the superior (planning) to the interior (managing) to the exterior (achieving). If earth at the time of the birth of mysticism was lost and compensated for Heavens, nowadays, developing countries are trying to conquer the Earth again. God is at the same time God of Heaven and Earth. World and Land appear from the core of the tradition, as its major manifestation, whether for decolonization or for laboring.

2 - From Moral Steps to Periods of History

Since moral steps are periodical phases in the ascendant road, is it possible to conceive these moral steps as successive phases in development or as progressive periods of history? In

mysticism, there is exactly what development requires: mobility, change, progress, periodization, perfection, sense of direction, backwardness, finality, passion, commitment, struggle, hope, sense of victory. It is only a matter of switching the relation between two parts of the equation, from the superior-inferior relation to the forward-backward relation. The superior in mysticism becomes progress in development, and the inferior in mysticism becomes backwardness in underdevelopment. Development till now has not been conceived within the framework of history. Political development was extracted from historical consciouseness. A development plan can be made for a previous historical period, but then it is too little. Another development plan can be made for a future period, but then it is too much. The accurate and achievable plan is the one which fits the transitional society from one historical period to another.

3 - From the Other World to this World

Since mysticism in its origin was a reaction to the defeat of piety and truthfulness in this world, it oriented itself to the other world as a final refuge, unreachable by impiety and falsehood in this world. Since life on earth was impossible, the pious having died in martyrdom, eternal life after death is possible for them. The Ihia' ends with the description of eternal life after death(32).Is it possible to bring life back to this world, leaving the dead to bury

(٣٢) Ihia' Section IV, Chapter 10; Given the importance of this chapter, it is the only chapter in Section IV divided into eight other chapters, and consequently the longest one.

the dead? One of development goals is the satisfaction of basic human needs: physical, psychological, moral and cultural, in order to maintain life on earth, individually, socially and culturally. What is the purpose of all this detailed description of death and life after death, the final part in Ihia'? All depend on narratives, not reason. Information is purely hypothetical, according to logic of belief. Sometimes it is frightening, especially narratives relating "Tortures in the grave." What is the purpose of describing agony in detail, of all the scenes in the last judgment, such as scales, stratus, pool, paradise wall, land, trees, river beds, covers, sofas, tents, virgins and boys? Fright and excitement are two methods in the logic of persuasion. However, development thinking is related to life rather than to death. Development studies cover "Dwellers outside the graves" in urban areas in big cities such as Cairo, but not "Dwellers inside the graves," such as in Ihia'.

SOCIETY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Conceptions of social order and understanding the role of social justice in the different religions

I -The Essence of Islam as Social Order (*).

It is rather inaccurate to describe Islam as a religion in the traditional sense, widely presented in history of religions, encyclopedias and dictionaries of religion: the realm of superpower, superstition, supernatural being, magic, divination, deities, divinities, inspiration, rituals, sacrifices, dogmas, institutions, churches, temples and synagogues, holy books, holy places, holy shrines, holy fathers, holy mothers, holy wars. Islam does not fit in these categories deduced from history of religions, primitive African, Asian and Latin American, nor even in the common understanding of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which was swallowed from the beginning in the framework of primitive and oriental religions.

Islam is something similar to what was discovered later in Western modern philosophy, namely natural religion in the XVII and XVIII centuries; a religion of nature, not of super-nature, a religion of reason, not of super-reason or a religion of God. In Islam, revelation and nature are the same. Revelation is a natural order, an appeal of reality, a call for social change and a

(*) International Symposium "Peace, Justice and Development", the contribution of religions to a peace order in the Middle East, 25-27 September, 1991, Saint Augustin, Bonn, Germany.

movement of liberation, since history is the story of liberty. In Islam, reason and revelation are the same. There is nothing in revelation which contradicts reason. The existence of God can be rationally proved. The Transcendence of God is a rational principle. The Islamic Universal code of ethics is the description of the Sein-Sollen, a norm for all. In case of apparent contradiction, the Scriptures, ambiguous by nature, are interpreted according to reason. There is no mystery in faith. The identity between revelation, reason and nature is the essence of Islam, unlike Judeo-Christian tradition in which Trinity and Election go beyond reason. Grace and Divine Will break natural laws. Islam is also a religion of man and society. What matters is his happiness on earth and the common social welfare. The kingdom of Heavens in Islam is on earth. It is not near but here and now. It is not the Mammoth Worldview buying and selling in the Temple. Religion in Islam is a means for something else, for individual and social welfare, not an end in itself. Finally Islam is a religion of progress, admitting social change and affirming time and history. The Transcendence is not abstraction but linked to Immanence. Eternity is in time. The vertical appears in the horizontal. Revelation progressed in the history of prophecy, till its accomplishment. Abrogation accommodates law with progress. Reasoning (Ijtihad) updates the law in order to cope with changing reality. Reason, nature, man, progress, make of Islam a religion of Enlightenment par excellence.

II- Eminent and Community Ownership

The heart of social justice in Islam is its concept of ownership. In Western experience, the beginning of social thought

was also a debate on what ownership is (Prudhon) and the origin of inequality (J.J. Rousseau). In Islam, God owns everything in the Heavens and on earth. Since He is the creator, He is also the owner. Man can not own what he does not create. Consequently, Islam does not recognize private ownership in the strict sense. What man has in hand is only a deposit God has entrusted to him. He has the right to use, not to misuse, to invest not to monopolize, to benefit not to exploit. Ownership is not an appropriation of a thing but a social function. In the case of misuse, monopoly or exploitation, confiscation of property becomes necessary and nationalization of private enterprise is decreed.

God is not only the owner of every thing on the Earth, but He is also the Maker. Man disappears, but God is everlasting. Man comes and leaves, he takes nothing with him except the good deed immortalizing him in the hearts and minds of his beloved. The good deed is not a material thing, but a standard of behavior, an ethical norm, a model of conduct, an example to follow, a trace in history. Man works not for earning money but for acquiring virtue. Means of survival are minimal, but acts of virtue are maximal. Asceticism is not only an ethical value but an economic structure, featuring minimum of consumption and maximum of production. Means of production cannot be left in the hands of the private sector. They touch every individual, every household and the whole society. Means of production are essentially land and factory, agriculture and industry. From agriculture every individual eats. From industry the whole community infrastructure is built. In the old Bedouin

mind, water, grass and fire cannot be individually owned. Water is the source of life in the desert. Grass is the food for cattle. Fire is heat, iron and defense. These are the three elements of survival in primitive life. Community ownership prevents any possibility of monopoly or exploitation once things are privately owned. Everybody shares land through work, water through common use and grass through common consumption. All that lies underneath the surface, such as minerals, is also subject to community ownership. The ancients knew gold, silver, fusfat, manganese, iron, and copper. The moderns discovered oil. Oil can not be privately owned, neither by a king, a prince, a sheik or even a tribe.

Eminent ownership reflects itself in community ownership. Since God is Transcendent, community is also Universal, not a special people, for a special favour, for a specific thing, such as land, grass, water, temple. The world is not negative and humans living in the world are not sinful. The world is innocent and man is also innocent.

III-Labor and Social Equality

The common notion for Islamic ancient economics is trade. The Arabs were essentially traders, in conformity with wandering Bedouins. However commerce, according to Ibn Khaldun, is a non-productive sector. It is a mere service without increase of production. It is a low economic activity compared to productive sectors such as agriculture and industry. In principal, Islam is for free mercantile economy. However, the state fixes

and supervises the prices and the legal marketing, goods, customs and manners. Private businesses and enterprises are greatly encouraged as part of working the land and fulfilling human vocation on Earth through effort and sweat. However, if a great distance between social classes appears and the society is divided between poor and rich, the state intervenes to take the surplus from the rich and give it back to the poor. If wealth is accumulated in few hands, monopoly and exploitation would be the natural outcome. Money circulates through investment, generating work as production and equal opportunity for all.

Paying the alms (Zakat) for sharing wealth between rich and poor is not only an ethical imperative, but also an economic device for capital circulation. Every rich person who owns non-invested capital in assets for a whole year has to contribute 2.5% from this surplus for the poor, not necessarily in cash but in social services and employment. Other types of Zakat are ethically motivated, such as Zakat of life, Zakat of fasting, and Zakat al-Mal, which is sharing one's wealth. It is something similar to taxes, but instead of being imposed by the state and generating tax evasion, it is internally motivated by social solidarity.

Labor is the only source of value, not of rank, inheritance or relationship. Work means physical effort and sweat, including intellectual work. In Islam, there is no surplus. The whole production of the worker comes back to him, not to capital. Money does not generate money without work. Capital does not increase by itself, a value added to the wealth of the capitalist.

Work generates money. The Capitalist has to allow the worker to share in planning, marketing, supervising, counseling, banking. That is why usury is prohibited, since usury means money generating money without human effort and real production. The capitalist, sitting down, lends money to the needy and takes it back after a short time, increased by 20% and sometimes 100% in case of extreme need.

The state can provide the capital for any enterprise on the base of 50% for the state, representing the common welfare, and 50% for the workers for their labor. The motivation is not profit, neither for the state nor for the workers, rather it is community service, fulfilling individual and community in a high cause—human dignity and supremacy.

Social justice in Islam is the real and concrete criterion of the Transcendence of God. The equality of all human beings in front of one Universal principle is not only an ideal equality, a normative one, but also a real and concrete one, preventing all kinds of distinctions of race, color, tribe and social rank. A class society with extreme differences between rich and poor, between the have and the have not, is not a Unitarian society. The Unity of God, Tawhid, the first Islamic article of faith, manifests itself in the unity of man, between the internal and external, and the unity of society, between social classes, and the unity of all people, making one sole humanity.

IV - Oil Wealth and Social Injustice

Unfortunately, the reality of the Muslim World is completely different, given historical and socio-political

circumstances. Islam disappeared as a social Worldview, as well as a social structure, for the sake of a hierarchical one and a class society. Plotinus' theory of emanation, an external factor was partly responsible. Despotism of the ruling elite and ignorance of the masses, internal factors, were also partly responsible.

The accumulation of oil wealth in the last decades created, with the two previous cultural and historical circumstances, a class society. The extreme rich and the extreme poor exist in Muslim society. The wealthiest millionaires are Muslim Sultans, Kings, princes and Oil sheiks, while the thousands who die from drought and hunger are also Muslims. Oil is privately owned by individuals, tribes or royal families. Oil wealth has been kept in foreign banks for the development of the industrial world. Loans are given for the development of the Arab world with a high rate of interest. Its value decreases according, to the devaluation of foreign currency. Arab currencies of non-producing countries became local, non-transferable, uncovered and without any real power. Consumption took over production. “Wasta” (influence) became very usual. The luxurious life, dolce vita, the ugly Arab in London, corruption, commissions, bribes, women, gambling, speculations. All were linked to oil wealth.

In Islam. whoever spends the night with a full stomach, while his neighbor has an empty stomach, is not a member of Muslim community. Any Muslim community with one hungry member stays outside Divine commitment. Zakat is not a simple moral and religious cover-up for usurpation of the nation's wealth.

What exceeds man's need goes to whoever needs. The rule of Islamic law in a state is not legitimized only by prayers of observation and formal obedience to the law, but by the social structure of Muslim society. Islam is not a ritualistic and formal religion but a socio-political structure. The application of the Islamic law does not begin with the penal code to frighten the poor by chopping the hand, nor with the bachelor by flagellation, but it is fulfilled in the end, once the poor get their share from the wealth of the rich with the establishment of social justice. The causes of poverty have to be known first. These include unemployment, low wages, and inflation, and are dealt with to liquidate poverty from society. To know the cause of theft and to deal with it comes before the application of the penal code. If the poor man commits theft motivated by hunger, he is spared and the ruler himself has to be punished. The application of the penal code, especially theft and fornication, is used as a cover-up for the huge pillage of national wealth by the ruling elite and its moral corruption. Unfortunately, the so-called Islamic states have nothing to do with Islam except ritualistic forms.

V - Pseudo-Devices for Social Justice

Actually, in order to continue this cover-up of social injustices in the Muslim World, pseudo-devices have been created by the so-called Muslim states in the Arabian peninsula, such as Islamic Banks under the guise of Islamic economics. In general, the so-called Islamic banks indeed are purely normal profit banks as they exist in Western capitalist societies. Under the pretext of

sharing gains and losses, and therefore the absence of profit as usury, money generating money without human effort and sweat, the depositor risks to loose, accepts his losses in good faith and the so-called Islamic banks are constantly the winners. These banks invest their huge savings in other profit-banks. They do not invest directly but through loans to other banks with high a interest rate. They do speculations on gold and silver in commodity markets for quick and risky gains outside the Muslim world, without any real investments for production increase inside the Muslim world. Islam is used here just to satisfy the purity of the hearts of the masses, which still abhor interest as usury.

The same thing occurred with the recent "Money investment companies" which collected the savings of the people, giving high interest rates from the capital, reaching 100% in one year, plus bonuses called baraka. The greater part of the Capital was smuggled abroad. After a while, the long-bearded and white-robed responsible flee the country and declare bankrupcy. Likewise Islamic fashion houses became a la mode, with high elegant styles making huge profits in the name of Islam. Publishers of Islamic books, including the Qur'an and the Hadith, made huge fortunes editing popular best-sellers, funded by Islamic banks to propagate traditional religious knowledge as the best mean for social stability. Oil wealth became oil culture.

The zakat became a self-legitimizing device for wealth accumulation. Once the oil-sheik gives away 2.5% of his wealth, he is a good and pious Muslim! He may add some more charitable

contributions for building mosques, houses, schools or hospitals, pure voluntary ones, to receive thanks and glory from the masses, to the prince of believers and the servants of the two holy shrines. But the real social structure does not change. A check and balance system of spending does not exist. A control on the state budget does not exist either. Questioning the source of income to any prince becomes disobedience, which is outlawed. Questioning the source of sovereignty also becomes a coup d'etat, an underground movement, a conspiracy against the state. All these crimes are equal to blasphemy and infidelity (Kufr) which merits capital punishment in such a holy and Islamic state applying Islamic law! Western powers come to help in case of internal or external threat to such regimes, as in the Gulf war.

VI-Social Justice at the Cross-Roads

Inside and outside the Muslim world, social justice is at the crossroads. With the population explosion, the poor classes descend more and more below the poverty line. The rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. Politically, the ruling elite, as far as it gets richer, becomes more and more oppressive, depending on internal forces of security or external military allies. Neither these pseudo-devices, nor the ethical and charitable optional devices, can solve the problem of social injustices.

Islam is not a utopia, but the actual implementation of the kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Real devices for income distribution to approach the Islamic Ideal would be a new scale

of wages proportional to physical effort, a class distinction limitation—1:10 maximum—and a redistribution of land ownership against landlord absentees. Land ownership would be restricted to peasants and land labor. Whoever reclaims land, that land becomes his. Greening and planting a yellow and sandy land creates ownership. Factories are owned by those who work in them. A graduated tax system help limit class distinctions to 1:10 for the benefit of the whole community. Workers rights are preserved and guaranteed by the state. The nearest existing system to an Islamic approach to social justice may be the Nordic Scandinavian democratic socialist regimes. Islam is not just what is practiced by Muslims. It is a social structure irrespective of the belief-system of those who implement it.

Social justice in Muslim societies cannot be solved with internal devices for income distribution alone. The whole world income distribution has to be solved on the global level. In principle, Muslim wealth is organically integrated into the world economy. Social justice has to be implemented globally between North and South, between the center and the periphery, between the have and the have not, between rich nations and poor nations.

Capitalism has rejuvenated itself through multinational corporations. But the Capital is kept in the center and the production is made in the areas where are raw material, cheap labor and vast markets. The brain is in the center and the muscles are in the periphery, the creativity is in the North and the transfer is in the south. As long as 5% of human beings owns 70% of world wealth,

as long as 10% of world inhabitants consumes 60% of world production, no social justice occurs. As long as Euro-centricity is the major worldview, social inequality will pursue.

The failure of European socialism does not give more chance for the survival of capitalism. What failed was the material base of socialism, intertwined with 19th century European Darwinism, not human socialism. What also failed was the dictatorial type of socialist regimes, not democratic socialism. The closest concept for Islamic Justice would be Democratic and Human socialism.

THE GENESIS OF A SECULAR IDEOLOGY (*).

I - Introduction

1. Object, Data, Method and Style

The object of this chapter is to know whether concepts of Equity and Social Justice are secular or religious concepts. Many scholars affirmed categorically that Nasser's socialism is a continuation and a fulfillment of the Islamic Reform movement which began in the last century[1]. Consequently, concepts of equity and social justice are religious concepts, and Nasser's socialism is an Islamic socialism. In this case, the religious factor played an important role in Income Distribution. This conclusion is a hasty one and cannot be substantiated by concrete evidence. Therefore, we are presenting the second hypothesis, that concepts of equity and social justice and the consequent ideologies of socialism are secular concepts. Religion was used only as a defensive mechanism against the attacks of Arab reactionary States, which used religion against Nasser's socialism. The peak of this controversy was in 1962/63. Religion in both camps in the Arab world, reactionary as well as progressive, was used as a means to justify political and social ends. Islam, as a mass culture, entered into the political game.

The Data analyzed comes essentially from Nasser's speeches, which reveal the essence of the Egyptian revolution. Nasser became

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(*) Project of Income Distribution in Egypt, Woodrow Wilson School of Economics, Princeton. Lisbon, Portugal 1979.

(١) Anouar Abdel-Malek: Ideologie et Renaissance Nationale, Anthropos, Paris, 1969.

a charismatic leader. He was the central power and the decision maker. Other data from scholars, religious Leaders and State officials go along with Nasser's direction and line of thought. Nasser's speech usually gave the signal and other writings followed. Press releases, mass-media programs, mosques, catechism, apologetic works on “Islam and Socialism” or on “Socialism in Islam”, popular proverbs and songs. All are helpful data confirming the principal one, that of Nasser and his power elite.

The method used is that of "content analysis" as a quantitative method aiming essentially at quantitative semantics. Total analysis is prefered to analysis by sounding. Units of analysis are grammatical and non-grammatical. The framework of analysis is that of categories, concepts and ideologies (doctrines)(2). A genealogical analysis shows when a concept appeared and at what time any religious factor intervened. Using structuralist language, a diachronic analysis of concepts is used to show this transition to ideologies, while a synchronic description shows permanent structures inherent in both concepts and ideologies.

The style is very close to the data analysed, in order to show the birth of concepts and their transformations. It may appear rhetorical because of the type of political speeches.

2. Theory and Praxis

It may be a contradiction in terms to study concepts of equity and social justice in a regime which does not admit any theoretical concept and which is proud of its pragmatic and

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(٢) M. Duverger. Méthodes des sciences sociales. pp. 136-68. P.U.F. Paris, 1964.

experimental type. Nasser says "The revolution is made of hopes, of feelings and of sentiments" [3]. For him, it is impossible to make the revolution and to formulate a theory of revolution at the same time. Had the free officers a theory of revolution before the 23rd of July, the revolution would not have been launched. Those who claim a theory of revolution before realizing it, make things difficult and complex and ask for the impossible [4]. Theory comes after Praxis and not before. It is no more than "a guide for revolutionary action". Once practical circumstances change, theory also changes. The famous "Six principles" were general guidelines, expressing national demands without forming a theory. "Co-operative Democratic Socialism" was not a theory but a practical requirement, according to the needs of the community. Even the glorious "Charter" of 1962 was not a theory but a project which should have been changed in 1970, if Nasser had lived, according to new circumstances. It came out after the analysis of social problems, containing principles of social development. Socialist laws of July 1961 came out of the battle, not before it [5]. Cultural revolution comes after political revolution. Application comes first, intellectuals theorize thereafter.

That is why it is very difficult to analyze concepts of equity and social justice. There are no clear-cut concepts. They are built

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(٣) Nasser: Speeches Collection. Five volumes, Ministry of Information (Vol. I, 1952-8; Vol II, 1958-60; Vol III, 1960-62; Vol IV, 1962-64; Vol V, 1964-66. Two other collections are published by Al-Ahram, the first from 1966-68, the second from 1968-69 (referred to as Vol VI and VII) pp. 332.

(٤) III p.585-8, National convention preparatory committee first meeting, 251-61

(٥) V, p. 264, Victory Day, 6th Anniversary. 23.12.62 VII, interview with the chief editor, New York Times 21.2.69, al-Ahram, 3.3.69.

occasionally and spontaneously according to present circumstances. They are "Para-concepts." That means slogans expressing, hopes, feelings and desires. While a concept is rational and well defined, a slogan is emotional and loose. Even when these loose concepts were transformed into ideologies of socialism, the same experimental type remained. "Co-operative Democratic Socialism" is not a written book to be applied, but a step in a long experience according to the principle of trial and error. Socialism also is not a commitment to stiff theories which did not come out of deep praxis and rational experience [(6)]. Doctrines are rational results of experiences. Digging down into national life is itself a theory. This freedom of thought regarding preconceived theories helped in discovering authentic national life. Theory is reality, history and nature. It is national soil, heritage, and tradition. Theory is for life and not life for theory. This experimental and loose type of thought may be one of the weaknesses of the Third World Ideologies.

3. Political and Social Revolution

Income distribution is the social expression of a political revolution. The revolution presented itself not only as a political revolution but also a social one [(7)]. That was the lesson learned from the Orabi revolution in 1882 and the Egyptian revolution in 1919. According to Nasser, both revolutions failed because they were merely political, not social. The revolution of July 1952

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(٦) I, p. 716, Alexandria, 26.7.57.

(٧) I, p. 35-48 Technical Training Center, Beni-Suef, 15.8.53; I, p.335, Nasser returning from Nagha-Hammadi after land distribution to the peasants 6.7.53.

learned the lesson and wanted to realize the two revolutions simultaneously. Through political revolution, the people can obtain their freedom from foreign domination and gain their independence from imperialism. Through social revolution, the people can obtain through class struggle their social justice from internal exploitation and monopoly against all kinds of social injustice. Other countries did not live the two revolutions in the same time. The political preceded the social. Every one required different circumstances. While the first depends on national unity, the second is based on class struggle. The revolution of 1919 stood firmly against foreign domination, but soon it returned to its own internal struggle between classes and individuals. The result was mere foreign domination through the king, through the feudalists and through the capitalists. In 1919, the power elite neglected almost completely the needs for social change. That was due to the nature of the historical phase which made landlords the leaders of political parties which lead the revolution. Although social needs were implied in the people's zeal for revolution, the power elite was not attentive to it, under the misconception that the Egyptian people do not revolt except in periods of abundance, for example, resulting from the cotton price increase after the first world war. Abundance was only for landlords and foreign travelers exporting cotton, who benefited from the cotton price increase and not for poor peasants. This is abundance at the top and frustration at the bottom. This contradictory situation was ignored by the power elite in 1919, with the exception of Egyptianization of some monetary activities, led to the revolution of 1952. It began immediately the

redistribution of national wealth as a vital and primary demand. Political revolution without social revolution is a mere facade. Political freedom is fragile without social freedom [(8)]. The revolution of 1952 made its political revolution by dethroning the king and evacuating foreign troops, without forgetting its social revolution through land reform [(9)].

On the other hand, according to Nasser, social freedom leads also to political freedom. Land reform is not only a primary and radical measure for a quick income distribution of national wealth on the threshold of the revolution, but also a means for political liberation. Landlords owned the peasants with the land. Once peasants became owners, they were free to vote and to choose their own representatives. Social democracy is inseparable from political democracy. No free vote exists without three guarantees: liberation from exploitation; equal opportunities in national wealth; and liberation from fear and anxiety for the future [(10)]. Any political system is a direct reflection of the economic situation and a true expression of class interests. If feudalism was a major power in a system, freedom would be the privilege of feudalists only [(11)]. If the economic power was for exploiting capitalism, political freedom would be enjoyed only by exploiting capitalism. The alliance between feudalism and exploiting capitalism in Egypt, on the eve of the revolution of 1952, demolished completely the political

(٨) The "Charter", p. 26-7 and p. 44.

(٩) Nasser: Philosophy of Revolution, p. 73-6.

(١٠) The “Charter” p. 44-50

(١١) Ibid, p. 46-8.

freedom of the majority and put the people under class domination. In the rural areas, peasants votes were given to landlords. Otherwise, peasants would have been dismissed out of the land. In urban areas, workers' votes were bought by the exploiting capitalists. The rest of the votes were "tricked" by the government. At that time, there were no co-operatives for peasants, through which they could sell and distribute their production away from feudalist domination. Millions of them were living with the minimum wage, almost on the poverty line. Work was without guarantee. Thousands of workers were under exploiting capitalism. There were no industrial or trade unions to defend their interests.

4. Concept of Income Distribution

Income distribution itself was a concept in Nasser's mind. It appeared very early in his thought. Revolution, as Nasser described it, burst out against mal distribution of national wealth in order to establish a more equitable distribution. Nasser spoke more on wealth distribution than on income distribution. The first expression is objective, aiming at national welfare, and not directed towards any social class or any individuals. The second is subjective, aiming at an individual share in national wealth and oriented towards other social classes or individuals who had more shares.

In Nasser's mind, distribution of wealth meant the enlargement of the wealth base through the participation of the majority, according to its proportion, in national wealth. It meant also "sufficiency and justice", the two poles of his later

socialism. Every citizen would have enough sustenance, in a more equitable way. In the early days of the revolution, Nasser conceived income distribution as expressed in life style. The low average of income per capita does not permit any kind of pomp or luxury goods. Nasser also had in mind a comparison between the average income per capita inside and outside Egypt. The annual income per capita was about £.E. 30 or 35. In Asia, it was less than £.E. 22 In the USA it went between £.E. 200-750. The American consumption attitude and life style do not mesh with Egyptian national income. Nasser advised government officials to abandon luxury goods and the high class life style. The average annual income per capita in Europe and America was 15 or 16 times more than in Egypt [12].

Nasser always insisted that income distribution is not made on actual income, otherwise it will be poverty distribution. It has to be coupled with income increase. The slogan was “doubling national income every ten years" and maybe less, in nine, eight or even seven years. There is no Justice without sufficiency. Given the limited sources of Egyptian society, sufficiency cannot be attained without increase of production [13].

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(١٢) II, p. 217; Cooperative Convention, 26.11.58, II, p. 599-600 visit to Sebahy factory, Alexandria, 108.59.

(١٣) II, p. 597, Sebahy factory, Alexandria, 1.8.59; II, p.537 Alexandria University, 26.7.59; II, p. 549, on the occasion of land distribution in Edfu, 20.9.59, III, p. 122, Interview with American Journalists, 21.3.60; III, p. 347, in front of Port-Said Department council, Dec. 60; III, p. 355, Popular Convention, Manzala, Dec. 60; III. p.458, 9th Anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61, III, p. 490, in front of the Syrian workers and youth, Alexandria, 17.8.61; III, p. 507, =

That requires work and effort. Europeans and Americans began to work more than 150-200 years ago [14].That requires also less consumption of goods, less luxury and less pomp [15]. Planning is needed and savings are required [16]. Instead of spending national wealth abroad or depositing it in foreign banks, it stays inside the country for expenditure and investments[17].

Raising the standard of living has to take into account population increase [18]. Egypt was 22 millions (1953) with national income of 66 millions. The average of annual income per capita was about £.E. 30. Had population increased by 350.000 persons, after 50 years Egypt would have been 44 millions (but was 80 millions in fact). Population increase would then have consumed growth. Redistribution of wealth changes the lifestyle of the people and gives them more jobs and more expenditure [19].

= Interview with American Television, Columbia Network, 26.8.61; IV, p. 4, Reception honoring the members of the 2nd Afro-Asian convention, 15.2.62; IV, p.41, Declarations in the popular forces national convention meetings commenting on the Charter, 26.5.62; IV, p. 225, 10th, Anniversary of the Revolution, Alexandria University 27.7.62; IV, p. 291 on the occasion of Aswan Dam body construction, 9.1.63; IV, p.298 and p.303, 3rd Anniversary of High Dam construction, Aswan, 9.1.63; IV, p. 337, 5th Anniversary of the Union; V, p.70, People's Assembly session, 12.11.64; II, p. 522, 5th Anniversary of the Union, 22.2.64.

(١٤) II, p. 599-600, Sebahy Factory, Alexandria, 108.59.

(١٥) I, p. 441, Third World Press Conference, Cairo 1.10.61.

(١٦) IV. p.441, Third world Press Conference, Cairo 1.10.61

(١٧) IV, p. 441-2, Third World Press Conference, Cairo, 1.10.61; I, p.755 Cooperative Convention, Cairo University, 5.17.57.

(١٨) I, p. 54, In front of Sharqia Department Delegation 5.7.56.

(١٩)I. p. 66, Liberation Rally, Gamaliya, 18.11.53.

Therefore, Nasser's concept of income distribution meant only a better life compared with European and American style. It would permit upward social mobility for those who were deprived of a middle class lifestyle.

II - Secular Concepts and Ideologies

Content analysis of Nasser speeches and later on of Sadat's showed that the preliminary determination of Nasser's categories offered four: Social Justice, Equity, Equal Opportunities and Dissolving Class Distinction (1952-1956). Sadat's speeches offered no new category. These categories were amplified later and became three doctrines or ideologies: Co-operative Democratic Socialism (1957-61), Socialism (1961-70), and Democratic Socialism (1971-79). The four early concepts were included in the later ideologies. Socialism included all four concepts, the first doctrine of Co-operative Socialism and the late Democratic Socialism.

A - Concepts of Social Justice, Equity, Equal Opportunities and Dissolving Class Distinctions According to units of analysis on a grammatical basis, these four concepts of social justice, equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinctions are interchangeable. Each can be defined by the other. Every concept can be a subject and a predicate for the other, as if they were all synonymous. However, according to units of analysis on a non-grammatical basis, the concept of "Social Justice" appeared as a major concept, while the three others, namely equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinction, appeared as variations on the main one.

1. Social Justice

Social justice is defined in two ways, negative and positive, destructive and constructive. The first shows what social justice is not, while the second shows what social justice is. The two ways are intertwined, but the negative way is more dominant. The power elite knew what they did not want, more than what they did want.

(A) The Negative Concept

According to subject-categories, the concept of social justice meant, negatively, the abolition of ten counter concepts and the destruction of the corresponding social and political situations. The first is social injustice. The main purpose of the revolution of 1952 was to abolish obscene social injustice from which the country suffered. Mohammed Ali had already put his hand on all land and distributed it to his family and clan. Peasants were only wage labor on their usurped land. Then feudalism appeared as the main source of social injustice. 95 per cent of the people were dominated by the other 5 per cent. The first were landless, the second owned everything. The first were wage labor, the second owned the capital. Nasser gave the historical origin of social injustice in order to shake the foundation. The revolution came to change the course of this history. Moreover, social injustice is against human nature, while social justice is the expression of nature itself. The first is external to human nature, imposed on reality, while the second is internal, emerging out of reality. Nasser combined historical analysis with natural analysis in order to show the historical and

natural foundation of social justice. If social injustice was inherited from history, it is also against human nature. Once history and nature come in conflict, nature wins.

Second, social justice is established against exploitation and despotism, internal or external, domestic or foreign. It means the distribution of national income between citizens without exploitation or frustration [20]. Nasser had in mind the impact of feudalism on income distribution, namely, the exploitation of the frustrated majority by the exploiting minority.

Third, monopoly is not only economic but also political. The domination of political authority by capital repressed political freedom. Monopoly indeed, in Nasser's mind, is another manifestation of feudalism as a socio-political and economic system [21].

Fourth, feudalism means the accumulation of wealth in a few hands. Distribution of wealth requires the abolition of such an aristocratic summit for the benefit of the popular base. The second of the famous six principles, the demolition of feudalism, was directed against feudalist domination of the land and the peasants. Land reform, namely the limitation of the maximum of land ownership to 200 Fadden's in 1952, was a drastic measure against feudalism. Nasser is still hitting the main source of social injustices, "men at the top".

Fifth, capitalism was described as dictatorship and domination and was rejected, especially in the early days of the revolution. It was always in alliance with feudalism, reaction and

(٢٠) III, p. 564, To the people in UAR, 16.10.61.

(٢١) "The Charter" p. 5-6; I, p. 284, Military Academy, 28.3.55.

imperialism [22]. Nasser's antagonism to capitalism continued in all phases of his thought. The four concepts, as well as the three ideologies, culminated in socialism. They were conceived mainly against capitalism.

Sixth, class domination results from feudalism. Landlords formed a class called "the society of the half per cent". Justice in distribution prevents class domination, the domination of the majority by the minority. In the early days of the revolution. the concept of group (Ta'ifa) was used first. Revolution came to abolish group domination and to raise the level of the lower groups. Later, the concept of class was used with the same general meaning, that of domination. The first step towards Social Justice occurs through self denial, because all citizens are equals. The Revolution began with that ethical and humanitarian meaning of equity and social justice. Nasser, as a free officer, felt before the Revolution a class struggle resulting from social injustice. A class dominates, a Shilla controls, and the rest of the people is frustrated, without minimum rights. Land reform laws were promulgated to regain the rights of the majority from the minority. Revolution came to put an end to the rule of the minority in the name of the majority. The struggle against the rise of a new class was permanent in the last days of the Revolution and became a central issue after the defeat of 1967 [23].

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(٢٢) I, p. 72, Menya al-Qamh, 20.11.53; I, p.284, Military Academy, 28.3.55; I, p. 41, Liberation Rally, Mansoura, 9.4.63; the Charter p.56

(٢٣) I, p. 89-90, in front of the youth and workers in Liberation Rally headquarters, Alexandria, 13.12.53; I, p. 612-3, Teachers Camps, Alexandria. 4.8.59; III, p. 58, National Convention Preparatory Sessions, first meeting, 25.11.61.

Seventh, opportunism, as concept in the beginning of the revolution, did not have the same extension as it did in the late days. It is a parasitic phenomenon created by imperialism. Opportunists are the agents of imperialism. They take profit from certain occasions to enrich themselves regardless of honor and virtue. They want to accumulate wealth regardless of the misery of others[24]. Later, opportunism had a more political than economic meaning. Its impact was more on political organization than on the economic system.

Eighth, enslavement or despotism is a result of feudalism. Feudalism was not only an economic system, but also a social one. Both land and peasants were owned by landlords. Social justice is against political despotism. Land reform laws aimed essentially at political liberation of the peasants. That is why Nasser always insisted that political and social Revolutions are inseparable.

Ninth, reaction was a concept formed later, referring to political opponents of the socialist revolution. It referred to all kinds of social injustice and the desire to keep it defending the status quo and cancelling the Revolution as a historical movement. In the beginning of the Revolution, reaction was internal to feudalism. During the Socialist Revolution of 1961-63, reaction was external, represented by reactionary States, headed by Saudi Arabia.

Tenth and finally, imperialism was the only external cause for all kinds of social injustice. It tried to make the people stay poor in order to control them. Egypt, an agricultural country,

(٢٤) I, p. 496, 2nd Cooperative Convention, 1.6.56.

imported every year about £.E. 40 millions (1953) crops, and consequently became more and more under the mercy of imperialism. Hunger and oil pressure were used by imperialism to destroy Egypt's national free will. Foreign occupation, the military form of imperialism was also a cause of political and social injustice. The destruction of imperialism is ipso facto a destruction of injustice. The collaboration between political leadership in Egypt before the Revolution and imperialism since the first world war, ostensibly to establish equity, social justice and political freedom, ended in the establishment of inequity, social injustice and political despotism [(25)].

These ten manifestations of social injustices are also interchangeable. They are loose, undefined and rhetorical. They were all included in the first three principles of the famous six principles, namely: destruction of imperialism, destruction of feudalism and destruction of monopoly.

(b) The Positive Concept

The concept of social justice is one of the earliest concepts of the Revolution. The “establishment of social justice" is the fourth principle of the famous six principles of the Revolution. The fifth is the formation of a strong army and the sixth is the establishment of a true democratic life. These six principles were the first complete effort to form an ideology out of mere concepts and slogans. Since Bandung in 1955, they were always represented outside Egypt, especially in the Third World, as a

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(٢٥) Liberation Rally Celebration, Gomhouria Palace, 18.11.53; I, p. 707, Alexandria, 26.7.57.

model of concepts which can be agreed upon by all developing countries. They were remembered in every anniversary of the Revolution as something to be proud of, for clarity, precision and totality. These are characteristics which will disappear in the later stage of ideologies of socialism. They became also the first step in the glorious "National Charter" which promulgated socialism as the ideology of the country. The principle of "Social Justice" formed a transitional step from concepts of equity to ideologies of socialism. These six principles of "Social Justice" formed a transitional step from concepts of equity to ideologies of socialism. These six principles were only a point of departure from which the national experience began. They were also a point of arrival as six targets to realize and to hope for. All revolutionary decisions were in fact an implementation of these six principles. They were also included textually in the "National Charter," containing the most elaborated formula of the Revolutionary Ideology. That was Nasser's answer, responding to a question whether nationalization of industry and trade was preconceived from the beginning of the revolution or dictated by later circumstances [(26)].

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(٢٦) I, p. 284, Military Academy, 28.3.55; I, p.298, responding to Mohammed Ali, Pakistan, 11.4.55; I, p.299, Delhi Municipality 13.4.55; I, p.303, Bandung Conference, 19.4.55; I, p.310, Military officers celebration in officer's club, 19.5.55; I, p.318, Land distribution celebration, Nagha-Hammadi, 3.7.55; I, p. 318, Land distribution celebration, Nagha-Hammadi, 3.7.55; I, p. 355-6, Sokarno reception, 21.7.55; I, p. 678, People's Assembly opening session, 27.7.57; III, p. , 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 12.6.61; III, p. 280, Marine officers gradutation day. Alexandria, 27.7.61; III, p.574, Declaration, 4.11.61; III, p. 586, National convention pieparatory sessions, first meeting, 25.11.61; IV, p. 108,=

Social justice is more than a concept or a target. It is the hope of the people and the dream of every citizen (27). Although it is realized by Revolutionary decisions and social measures, it will remain partial and selective. However, income distribution ought to be based on social justice, which means that every one has a share in national wealth. Many times, the establishment of social justice appears alone as the main purpose of the Revolution (28). It is called justice in distribution (‘Adalat Al Tawzi') rather than just distribution (Al-Tawzi' Al-‘Adel) to emphasize justice as a principle more than distribution as quantity.

Justice in distribution also means (1) the increase of national wealth in a practical and human way; and (2) redistribution of nation work surplus on the basis of justice. Otherwise, income distribution of the actual national income will be distribution of poverty. That is why abundance is coupled with social justice. That is also the reason for defending social justice, not only as justice but also as sufficiency. The first is the result of income distribution, the second is the result of increase

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= Military training day, 25.6.62; IV, p. 336, 5th Anniversary of the union, 21.2.63; II, p. 390, 11th Anniversary of the Revolution, Alexandria 26.7.63; II, p. 493, Heros returning from Yemen, 27.10.63; V, p. , 6th Anniversary of the union, 22.2.64; III, p. 508, interview to the American Television, Columbia Network, 26.8.61; also the "Charter" p. 56.

(٢٧) I, p.486, 2nd Co-operative convention. 1.6.56.

(٢٨) I, p. 238, Land distribution celebration, Baltag, 25.54; I, p.226, Employees convention, Gomhouria Palace, 21.10.54; I, p. 231, Canal and Delta Delegation Meeting in People's Assembly on the occasion of evacuation treaty. 24.110.54; I, p. 486, 24 Co-operative convention, 106.56.

in production. The slogan in the “Charter" was “Work is honor, work is right, work is duty, work is life” [29].

In the early days of the Revolution, the polarity between rich and poor was conceived on an ethical, humanitarian and brotherly level. "We are rich, but our brothers are poor.” The ideal is to feel the presence of others, weak and poor. Through this feeling, social justice can be established. In Nasser's mind, the concept is human, ethical and brotherly feeling. Sometimes social justice appears like a direct manifestation of mutual love and brotherhood. That is why income distribution has to be made within national unity, based on brotherly, love through peaceful means. The "Liberation Rally," as the first Revolutionary political organization, was formed by the Revolutionary Council Command to fulfill this peaceful income distribution.

The model of wealth distribution in the beginning of the Revolution was land reform. It has always been defended as the most radical measure for wealth distribution. Nasser always used to give the following picture. On the eve of the Revolution, big landlords (6 per 10,000) owned 20 per cent of the land. Small farmers owned 35 per cent of the land, 95 per cent of them were wage labor. After the Revolution, big landlords owned 6 percent of the land, small farmers 50 per cent. This redistribution of land ownership is social justice in order to narrow down class distinctions and to abolish class contradictions. Nasser gave a more precise picture of land ownership before and after the

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(٢٩) I, p. 81, People's Assembly 2nd session, 12.11.64; I, p. 531, Teachers delegation congratulating the President for his re-election. 26.6.56.

Revolution to explain what social Justice means in terms of land distribution. Before the Revolution, 2,000 landlords owned 1,200,000 feddans, every one owned about 1,000 feddans, while 72 per cent of the farmers owned less than 3 per cent. There were three millions who owned less than a quarter feddan. Population increased by a third of a million a year (1952), while available land decreased. Land reform laws aimed at liberating the bulk of peasants from feudalism [(30)]. 18 of 22 million peasants (1954) lived with minimum sustenance, under the hunger line [(31)]. The academic accuracy of such outdated statistics does not matter. The power elite used it only to draw a popular image of maldistribution of wealth.

Nasser was always aware of the difference between the slogan and its application, between the decision and its implementation. The first land reform law (1952) limited land ownership to 200 feddans. But these laws were distorted and played with in application. Many families made formal transfers of their land to their sons and daughters. In fact, the maximum of land ownership was 300 feddans. Some families had, after the land reform laws, more than 3.000 feddans. Even so, one million, who had owned nothing before the revolution, became owners for the first time in their lives after the Revolution. The rent had been fixed at seven times the tax. This law was also played with and there was rent increase everywhere. The minimum wage for

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(٣٠) I, p. 68, People's Assembly opening session, 22.7.57; II, p.200, "Foreign Affairs" Magazine, 19.12.54; I, p. 284, Military Academy, 28.3.55.

(٣١) I, p. 145, Liberation Rally Celebration, Boulak, 31.5.54; I, p. 316, Land distribution celebration, Nagha-Hammadi, 3.7.55.

agricultural labor was set at between 12-18 piasters (1952). The law was distorted, and wage labor was paid much less.

Because of the humanitarian concept of social justice, after the triumph of socialist Revolution, Nasser thought also of landlords. The measures taken against them aimed not at mere depossession or at the distribution of poverty, but aimed at the distribution of wealth. All feudalists were compensated by bonds (Sanadat) bearing bank interest. Thus landowners were not completely dispossessed. Each had, for him and for his family 100 feddans. All were equal [(32)].

Justice in income distribution is the real meaning of social democracy because social justice means the rights of the workers in their work, limitation of working hours to seven, workers representation in administration councils by the third, workers participation in benefits by the fourth of the capital transformation of private property to public property in industry, along with a land ownership limitation in agriculture. All these measures constitute a real social democracy based on individual freedom.

Democracy is political freedom, while socialism is social freedom [(33)]. Land reform was not only an economic measure for wealth distribution, but also a political shaking of the old regime. It liberated peasants, small owners and wage labor from slavery, corruption and social and political injustice.

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(٣٢) II, p. 2, Reception honoring the members of the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference, 15.162.

(٣٣) II, p. 46-70, 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 26.7.61.

Social justice is the foundation of the modern State [(34)]. It is the only foundation of national unity for any people. It holds the people together, unified and homogenous. Nasser's late ideas about "working people's forces alliance" are latent in his conception of social justice from these early days of the Revolution.

Social justice was not only a concept, more or less, but also a process to be launched. It was conceived and done as well. Social justice was implemented by the following measures:

1 - The balance between the public sector, directed by the State, and the private sector, left to harmless individual initiatives.

2 - The use of capital for the benefit of the national economy, and not for the benefit of some individuals to the detriment of the people.

3 - Encouraging cooperation instead of individualism. Solidarity is the basis of community.

4 - Enlarging social insurance to cover all citizens against unemployment, incapacity, and old age.

5 - Planning based on social justice, with a priority system taking into consideration the majority of the people.

6 - Nationalization (Egyptianization) like that of the Suez Canal, banks, insurance companies, cotton-trade, industry, metallurgy, transportation, foreign trade.

7 - Socialist laws of July, 1961, August 1963 and March ended the problem of compensation and put an end to old privileges.

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(٣٤) III, p. 458, 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 22.7.61.

8 - Working people's ownership of that huge capital (later became people's control of means of production).

9 - Creating new job opportunities against unemployment.

10 - Workers laws concerning their rights: Prohibition of firing, 50 per cent of profits, representation in administrative councils (4 members), daily working hour limitation to seven, paid holidays, minimum wage limitation, pensions, insurance against unemployment and old age (35).

11 - Social justice has to be stipulated the Constitution like that of 1956 and of 1964. Article No. 7 stipulates the organization of the national economy according to preconceived plans, based on social justice, aiming at the increase of production and the rise of the standard of living. Article No. 22 states that social justice is the basis of taxation. Article No. 53 organizes the relation between workers and capitalists on the basis of social justice. "The Liberation Rally" was supposed to be the political organization to implement social justice. It supported the new regime and gathered people to applaud and send telegrams of support (36).

2. Equity, Equal Opportunities, Dissolving Class Distinctions

These three concepts are deduced from the major one, social justice. Equity and equal opportunities have the same generality and looseness. They are humanitarian and ethical. Only the third, dissolving class distinctions, became a technical

(٣٥)I, p. 751, 2nd Cooperafive Convention, Cairo University, 5.15.57.

(٣٦) I, p. In front of Sharqiya citizens, 21.1.56.

term, used especially in the "Charter", the best theoretical formulation of socialism.

Social justice is coupled with equity [37]. It appears in society when equity dominates. Consequently, the concept of equity is a sub-concept of the main concept of social justice. Both are interchangeable.

Nasser gave several meanings to equity. Equity in its general meaning refers to equity in creation. God created us equally. God gave all men equal and indisputable rights. The role of government formed by men and having its authority from the people is to defend human rights and help men in fulfilling their duties. Equity in that sense is a postulate of the mind, self evident and unquestionable [38].

As social justice was the expression of human nature, equity was the expression of Divine creation, a common religious idea, known by every one.

An early triad "Freedom, Justice and Equity" appeared making equity social as well as political, social equity against social injustice, political equity against political despotism [39].

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(٣٧) I, p. 11, Administration Club, 15.4.54.

(٣٨) I, p.5 Liberation Rally inauguration in Shebin Al-kum, 23.2.53; I, p. 446, Constitution declaration celebration, 16.1.56; V Reception of the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference 15.2.62.

(٣٩) I, p. 39, in the register of train conductors general association, 31.3.54; I, p. 283 in RCC in front of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez Workers congratulating the President for the promulgation of Worker's law in Canal Zone, 27.3.55; I, p. 163, Land distrubition celebration, Mansoura, 20.7.54; I, p. 354, General Conference=

Sometimes freedom and equity are coupled, giving the meaning of complete equation between both [40].

Equity, like social justice, requires increase of production in order to have equity in wealth, not equity in poverty. Equity plus increase of production raises the standard of living of all citizens. In Nasser's mind, the same scheme persists, the welfare society, whether he speaks of social justice or of equity.

Class equity means the abolition of class distinctions, especially the polarization between the rich class and the poor class. The revolution came to bring complete class equity. That occurs gradually after obtaining social equity [41]. No class depossession is required, but only the creation of equity between all, dropping all class distinctions between rich and poor classes. The land reform laws brought the social classes closer to each other. Before the Revolution, one million were dominating almost 20 million [42]. Once Nasser comes to equity, he does not hesitate to use the concept of class and admit class distinctions, not class contradictions.

Equity, in Nasser's mind, has also a civil meaning, rights and duties between all citizens without distinctions of income or

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= in Um Saber Village, Tahrir Department, 18.7.55; I, p. 448 , Constitution declaration celebration 16.1.56; II, p. 331, Aleppo, Syria. 28.2.59; II, p. 473, National Union celebration, 14.7.59.

(٤٠) I, p. 2, Declaration to France Associated Press.

(٤١) I, p. 101, in the President house in front of Egypt's worker's union delegation, congratulating him for cancelling the decrees of S/15.3.54.

(٤٢) I, p. 53, Interview with Al-Ahram, 22.8.53; I, p. 99, Train conducters General Association in Sabtiya 31.3.54.

position. Equity in public service means the ability of all citizens to work, since work is the national means for increase of production [43]. Equity in jobs, in work opportunities and in high positions between men and woman is also a part of civil equity.

Equity is not in having but also in giving. Equity in sacrifices is symbolized by equity in taxation [44]. Every one has to pay taxes proportionally to his income. Increasing taxation is imposed on the rich. Taxes on entertainments were also increased. Customs taxes were increased on luxury goods used by the rich classes.

Equity in freedom means the destruction of imperialism, which makes citizens unequal. Equity is the basis of democracy, as inequity is the basis of dictatorship. Through teaching camps, people can learn and practice equity [45].

Nasser applies equity, not only inside the country, but also outside, in international relations. Equity in progress means developing countries trying to catch developed countries. Inequity between different countries is a reason for war, of the usurped against the usurper. The claim of equity is behind the world division between East and West, between poor and rich, between developed and underdeveloped, between North and South, between white and colored. Racial discrimination is the worst form of inequity. No peace is possible while the State the

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(٤٣) I, p. 98, Train conductors general association, 31.3.54.

(٤٤) I, p. 45, "Liberation Rally" headquarters, Ismailiya and Port-Said, 1.8.53; I, p.53, Interview with Al-Ahram, 22.8.53.

(٤٥) I, p. 75, Fida'yyin Camps in a Cairo suburb, 22.11.53.

world is so divided. Rich countries have to relinquish the sources of wealth which they dominate in poor countries. The price of primary materials has to increase. This inequity between industrial countries and material countries is unjust. No people is doomed to backwardness. It is only a matter of cooperation between the developed and the less developed countries. Monopoly of progress threatens peace between nations [46].

Parallel to the concept of equity, Nasser used also another derivative concept, that of equal opportunities. As social justice meant equity, it means also equal opportunities in economic and political life. Land reform aimed at creating equal opportunities. Through land reform, wealth is no more accumulated in the hands of a few men over a majority working day and night, from hand to mouth. Social freedom means equal opportunities for all citizens alike [47]. Economic freedom means also equal

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(٤٦) I, p. 315. celebration of putting the corner stone in an oil refinery factory in Musturud, 1.6.55; I, p. 693, People's Assembly opening session, 22.7.57; I, p. 355, 380, honoring Egypt's guest Dr. Sokarno, 23.7.55; II, p.135, in the republican palace honouring president Nhukruma, 15.6.58; IV, p. 441-2, Third world press conference, 1.10.61; V, p. 53-5, Non-alignment 2nd conference, opening session, Cairo University, 5.10.64.

(٤٧) I, p. 48, Technicians training center in Beni-Souef, 15.8.53; I, p. Education construction society celebration of the first school built in Souk al-Selah, 30.6.54; I, p. 298, in Pakistan responding to Mohammed Ali, 11.4.55; II, p. 612-3, Teacher camp, Alexandria, 4.8.59; III, p. 469-70, 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 26.7.61; V, p. 298, III, p. 490, in the Syrian youth and Alexandria workers, 17.8.61; III, p. 525, Radio Declaration, 28.8.61; IV, p.2, Reception honoring Afro-Asian members, 2 conference, 15.2.62; V, p. 6-7 Arab Unity =

opportunities in work. Food and clothing subsidy policies aimed at giving the poor class an equal opportunity with the rich class in sustenance. Just income distribution means also equal opportunities for all [48].

In Nasser's mind, equal opportunities are not only in distribution of wealth and jobs, but also in education. Every school graduate enters the University according to his performance, quantified in his school grades. Education was made free in order to give equal opportunities to all citizens, regardless of their wealth.

The last concept Nasser used was "dissolving class distinctions." It also came from the major concept of "social justice" Both concepts are almost synonymous. Social justice requires the destruction of class distinctions. Nasser, indeed, used many terms according to the degree of violence he wished to express through each term. The strongest term is "cancelling" (I'dam), destroying (Qada), or abolishing (Izalah). Other terms like lessening (Taklil), closing (Tadyiq), are less violent. The two major technical terms are narrowing (Taqrib), used from 1952-61 within concepts of social justice and the doctrine of "co-operative Democratic Socialism;" and dissolving (Tathwib), used from 1961-69 in the stage of socialism as promulgated in the

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= day, 22.2.62; V, p. 2198, on the occasion of the 3rd Anniversary of high dam, Assouan, 9.1.63; V, p. 81, National Assembly opening session, 12.22.64.

(٤٨) III, p. 458, 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 22.7.61; III, p. 588, National convention preparatory committee, first meeting, 25.11.61.

"National Charter". The second term became the most common, as the slogan of an ideology [49].

Nasser considered that the main purpose of the Revolution was to narrow down class distinctions. Its first aim was to drop all class barriers and to guarantee an income redistribution of national wealth [50].

Tactically, Nasser made fine distinction between class distinctions and individual distinctions. The first is inherited from the past as a result of class society, capitalists and feudalists on one hand, workers and peasants on the other hand. It can and must be abolished. The second is due to the nature and powers of each individual. It can never be abolished. A third, middle class, formed

(٤٩) I, p. 33, interview with Al-Ahram correspondant, 17.6.53; III, p. 6132-3, Teacher's camp, Alexandria, 4.8.59.

(٥٠) I, p. 331, in Elmenia people, 5.7.55; I, p. 352, inauguration of the first collective unit in Beni-Souef, 23.755. Al-Gomhouria palace, 21.2.59; I, p. 522-3, popular meeting in evacuation day celebration, 19.6; II, p. 301-2, Damascus, 212.59. Damascus, 73.2.59; II, p. 323, Aleppo, 27.2.59; II, p. 330, Lathiequia 28.59, III, p. 284, Damascus, 17.10.60; III, p. 346-7, Port-Said Department council and executive committee National Union, 12.12.60; III, p. 490, Interview with the American Television, Columbia, 26.8.61; III, p. 570, speech to UAR people 16.10.61; III, p. 678, 3rd session, 29.11.61; V, p. 50, Declaration and comments in popular forces National convention commenting the "Charter," 3rd meeting, 26.5.62; V, p. 57-8, 5th meeting, 28.6.62; II, p. 94, 7th meeting, 30.5.62; IV, p. 133, Interview with D.W. Morgan, Sunday Times correspondent, 6.62; V, p. officers club inauguration, 24.7.62; V, p. 624, unity day, 6th Anniversary, 22.2.64; V, p. 80, National Assembly opening session, 12.11.64; V, p. 221, popular meeting, Alexandria, 9.3.65; Workers general union, Helwan, 3.3.68; V, p. 45, Labor Day, commenting 30 March Declaration,30.3.68,13.68.

by whole sale trade and government officials, the technocrats, are in the hand of feudalists and capitalists. They belong to the upper class. Their privileges have to be abolished [51].

Dissolving class distinctions in Nasser's mind happens gradually by following certain measures like preparation of long and short range plans aiming at reducing the burden of life by fixing prices and struggling against inflation, raising the standard of living of peasants and workers, encouraging industries and free trade, and investing capital in exploiting Egyptian primary materials. The most radical measure in the early, days of the Revolution was land reform.

Nasser reminded Egyptians in every concept that social democracy cannot be realized under the domination of a class by another class. Democracy is people's authority. Dissolving class distinctions is the road to democracy. This occurs only through peaceful means. Although class struggle is natural and necessary, it cannot be ignored or denied, but only solved within the framework of national unity. The hardship of class struggle and its violent practices are invented by reactionary forces in order to maintain their privileges, monopolies and people's exploitation. Dissolving class distinctions peacefully disarms reactionary powers allied to exploiting capitalism. A democratic interaction between people's working forces, workers peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and national non-exploiting capitalism is a legal

(٥١) IV, p. 38-9, Declarations and comments of popular forces national convention sessions, commenting on the "Charter" 3rd meeting, 26-5; III, p. 459-60, 9th Anniversary of the Revolution, 22.7.61.

alternative to the alliance between feudalism and exploiting Capitalism. Democracy is established after narrowing class distinct in order to form a society without masters and slaves, without dominating and dominated classes [52].

It appears that Nasser, in these four primary concepts of social justice, equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinctions, never used the religious factor to support his ideas. Except one time, that God created us equal. There was no need for it, as if the revolutionary impulse was self-sufficient and self-evident. Statistical evidence which Nasser gave did not need any scriptural arguments in its support. In Western terms, the four concepts were purely secular. But in Nasser's terms the purely secular may be the only meaning of the purely religious.

B - Ideologies of Socialism

The concept of social justice and its derivatives, equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinctions, are developed later into three major doctrines, cooperative Democratic Socialism, Socialism and Democratic Socialism. The second, Socialism, is a common dominator in the three ideologies. The first was a transitional step between social justice and Socialism. The second was the peak of Nasser's ideology. The third, "democratic Socialism" was a socialist retreat presented by Sadat's regime, in spite of the label of socialism.

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(٥٢) I, p. 59, Declaration in popular forces national convention meeting, com- menting on the "Charter", 26.5.62; III, p. 489, in Syrian youth and Alexandria workers, 17.8.61; IV, p. 43, Declarations and comments in popular forces national convention, 3rd Session, 26.5.62; V, p. 159, 4.7.62, "National Charter", p.50-2.

The same question is asked, whether these ideologies of socialism were secular or religious, when the religious factor appeared in the second one, namely socialism, and why?

1. Cooperative Democratic Socialism (1957-60)

After the nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956 and the Egyptianization of foreign companies, Nasser felt the need for a doctrine to fit the creation of "Economic establishment", the first cell of the later public sector. The new society, revolutionized again after the crisis of March 1954, is called "Co-operative. Democratic and Socialist Society." The complete connection was always between these three new concepts, forming the first ideology of the revolutionary regime, the only one Nasser called doctrine (Aqida) [53]. Sometimes the connection is made only between two concepts and becomes "cooperative Socialism" [54].or "cooperative Democracy" [55]., and seldom "Democratic Socialism." That connection which will come later on, after the 73 October war, a label of the official ideology of Sadat's regime at the time of approaching Israel

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(٥٣) I, p. 756, Cooperative convention, Cairo University, 5.12.57; III, p. 219-22, Cooperative convention, 26.11.58; II, p. 259, Port Said, Victory day 23.12.58; II, p. 299-300, Damascus, 22.2.59; II, p.313, Homs, 25.2.59; II, p. 315-6, Aleppo 26.2.59; II, p. 325 Aleppo, 27.2.59; II, p 329, Lathequia, 28.2.59; II, p. 348, Lathequia, 4.3.59; II, p. 412, Party, celebration of the end of training years of tank division, 30.31.59; II, p. 560, 29.2.59; Celebrating land distribution of the former king, p.9.7.59, 28.8.59; Mahalla Al-Kobra: II, p. 624, National Union, Hamah, 20.2.60.

(٥٤) III, p. 219-22, Interview with the Indian journalist Karangiya, Cooperative convention, 26.11.58

(٥٥)II, p. 25, Putting cornerstone in insurance and social establishment. Cairo, 24.7.59.

through International Democratic Socialism. Because of the importance of Cooperation, it appears sometimes as the only label for the new revolutionary society. Later on, Cooperation yielded to Socialism and Socialism became the only label of Nasser's ideology at its peak. Afterwards, Sadat dropped the two terms, Cooperation and Socialism, and left only Democracy, at least as a slogan, which helped him in his process of Democratization.

The connection between the three concepts is a necessary one. Without socialism, which means at that time individual liberation from exploitation, there will be no democracy. Without democracy, which means individual participation in directing public life, there will be no socialism. No democracy is possible if direct feudalism and capitalism dominate, if the destiny of very individual is controlled by his socio-economic status[56]. How could socialism be established, while the minority still possesses all opportunities and the majority stays outside centers of power and decision making processes? Socialism is economic democracy, as democracy is political socialism. Cooperation means national stability based on social justice, integration and love. Nasser says "democracy is meaning and slogan, Socialism is truth and hope, Cooperation is reality and target" [57].

(a) Socialism. Socialism is defined in this early period as sufficiency and increase of production. It is also established through work for the increase of national income. The slogan was "Doubling

(٥٦) I, p. 757, Cooperative convention, Cairo University, 5.12.57.

(٥٧) IV, p. 202-3, National Assembly, Opening Session, UAR. 9.7.60.

the national income every ten years" and "No income redistribution without increase." The increase is not limited to a few people, but extends to the majority of the people. The target of the revolution is to raise the standard of living and to strengthen the economic and productive powers of the country. Production the only way to establish socialism. A socialist society is a society of abundance (58).

By socialism, Nasser meant, in this early period, State's control of public and private ownership. The State is responsible for individual protection from economic and social exploitation. Private capital is not free. It is controlled and directed by the State. Public capital, represented by the State makes the balance with private capital and prevents it from political domination. Nasser had in mind the germinal idea of the public sector in the coming socialist phase. The State also protects national industry and prohibits the import of external industrial goods. In commerce, the State limits the profit of distributors. The State Shares with 70 per cent in all productive products. At the same time, the State supervises the public sector and protects it from all illegalities and deviations. That role of the State was impossible to realize later on in the socialist phase. Cooperation comes here and works between the State and private capital to realize the common interests of the community. It creates the common good for all citizens in work and education opportunities. This Cooperation puts an end to monopoly and capitalism, especially in the industrial sector. The five year plan, concentrated on military and civil industries, was implemented by

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(٥٨)I, p. 289, Opening of a cultural season of military forces' 31.3.55; III, p. 205, Cooperative convention, 26.11.58; II, p. 306-7, Celebration of ownership certificates distribution, Damascus, 223.7.59; II, p. 561, Edko, 28.7.59; II, p. 669-70. Science day, 19.11.59.

State capital, a mixed capital between State and private (savings and contributions). The Oil industry is a famous model. The new doctrine does not accept foreign aid but prefers loans on foreign capital in order to keep the cooperation completely national [(59)]. Industrialization means heavy and light industries like shipping and metallurgy. The new working class, created by industrialization, gives the society a new system. Every citizen will be judged according to his work not according to his class, inherited from imperialistic era. Workers were represented in administration. They obtained their work laws, their 25 per cent profit share, and a limitation of work hours [(60)].

(b) Cooperation. Cooperation appeared in Nassers terminology as early as 1953, in a general, humanitarian and ethical meaning. Cooperation is an important factor in human life[(61)]. If somebody deviates, the community has to bring him back. One year later Nasser conceived cooperation in doing good and preventing evil, having in mind the Muslim Brothers, who were doing just the opposite, co-operating in doing evil and preventing the good. Even when Nasser wrote, in the Union visit-register, a word encouraging Cooperation and citing the famous Qur'anic verse, "Help you one another in righteousness and piety, but help you not one another in sin and rancor," he had in mind

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(٥٩) II, p. 514-7, National union celebration, Gomhouria Palace, 23.7.59; Transmitters factory, Rod Al-Farag, 24.759; II, p. 680, High Dam celebration 26.11.501; Mahalla, 8.8.59; III, p. 57 National union, Hamah, 20.2.60.

(٦٠) II, p. 632-8, Mahalla, 9.8.59; III, p. 56, National Union, Hamah 20.2.60. 11P, 457, 9th anniversary of the revolution 22.7.61.

(٦١) The world co-operation is very common in popular political-culture and confirmed by several Qur'anic verses.

his struggle with the Muslim Brothers [(62)]. In the same year, Nasser had in mind a social meaning of cooperation, like cooperation between poor and rich [(63)]. After the tripartite aggression of 1956, Nasser conceived cooperation of all citizens to rescue the country and to support those who were injured by the aggression [(64)]. The common denominator in all Nasser's usages of the term cooperation is an ethical meaning. Cooperative society is based on love and brotherhood, where there is cooperation between workers and capitalists, between government and capitalists, for the benefit of the country, for its Revolution and its progress. In a co-operative society, class distinctions are dissolved. Every one becomes equal to the other [(65)].

Cooperation appears materially in agriculture, trade, industry, education, public services. In agriculture, cooperation plays a big role in productivity, besides its political and social role. Land owners and members of cooperative societies, formed by agrarian reform, cooperate to increase production and income for peasants [(66)]. Cooperatives give loans to the peasants and took over cotton marketing. It gave seeds, fertilizers and chemicals. It participated also in productive projects. It gave subsidies to small farmers and organized agricultural mechanization and industries.

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(٦٢) I, p. 127, In the Union visit-register, 29.4.54.

(٦٣) I, p. 156, People's delegation to the ministers council association.

(٦٤) I, p. 684, People's Assembly opening session, 27.7.57.

(٦٥) II, p. 519, Inauguration of an electric and transmitters factory, Rod Al-Farag, 24.7.59; II, p. 543, Celebration putting the cornerstone of insurance and social company; II, p. 536, Alexandria University, 26.7.59; II, p. 536, Mahalla Al-Kubra, 8.8.59; II, p. 624, II, p. 646, Egypt's textile company, 4.8.59; II, p. B, In front of guest palace in Kawashli, 15.8.60.

(٦٦) Charter, p. 54.

Its main role was to protect small land owners. Nasser himself was critical of his new cooperatives. The experience failed because of lack of control and supervision [67].

Commerce has to be operated in a co-operative way. Sellers and distributers have the right to a just commission. Assistants are organized in cooperatives to protect themselves from exploitation and commissions [68]. Cooperative Unions and societies have to be formed and organized as one of the fundamental principles of the revolution.

The people themselves can build factories. They can be self-reliant and can give an example for cooperation, solidarity and strong will. The people can take the initiative and form cooperative societies. Fishers, artisans, traders, workers, and farmers can transform the weak economy into a strong collective one, supported by the State, in order to create a society of abundance [69]. Co-operation also exists in education, housing,

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(٦٧) I, p. 503-4, 2nd Co-operative convention, 1.6; I, p. 211, Interview to Egyptian news agency on the future of Egyptian economy, Al-Nashra Al-Iqtisadiya, 121, 31.8.54; III, p. 219-22, Cooperative convention, 26.11.58; II, p. 544-5, Celebrating land distribution of the former king, III, p. 96, Interview with German Journalists, 26.6.60; III, p. 219-22, Co-operative convention, 26.11.58; II, p. 632-8, Egypt's Textile Company, 9.8.59.

(٦٨) I, p. 503-4, 2nd Co-operative convention, 1.6.36; II, p. 680, High Dam Construction celebration, 26.11.59; II, p. 514, National Union celebration, Gomhouria palace, 23.2.59.

(٦٩) I, p. 503-4, 2nd Co-operative convention, 1.6,56; I, p. 681, People's Assembly opening session, 22.7.57; I, p. Cooperative convention, Cairo University, 5.12.57; II, p. 429, Interview with Karangiya, 17.4.59; III, p. 182-3, Damietta, 8.5.60; III, p. 349, Port-Said Department members, 12.60.

consumption, furniture, construction and camping. Poor and rich can then have equal services regardless of their class affiliations. Co-operation exists also in health services and insurance companies, in case of incapacity, old age and death [70].

C- Democracy. If socialism was the economic aspect of the doctrine and cooperation was its social aspect, Democracy is its political aspect. Cooperative, democratic and socialist society is free from political, social and economic exploitation. In this society according to Nasser, there is no more distinction between dispossessed majority and possessing minority. The minority lacks the work, resulting of the majority working as wage labor. The hungry and frightened majority cannot practice true democracy. The new doctrine gives back the usurped rights of the majority in order that no one can rule the country in its name. Cooperative ownership is the road to democracy [71]. The new society abolishes class distinctions inherited from the past. Negatively, it puts an end to exploitation, feudalism and

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(٧٠) II, p. 514-7, National union celebration, Gomhouria palace, 23.7.59; II, p. 641, Egypt's Textile company, 5.8.59; II, p. 620-1, in a popular and scout camping areas. Alexandria 5.8.59; II, p. 680, High Dam construction celebration, 26.11.59; III, p. 219-22, cooperative convention, 26.11.58; II, p. 458-9, 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61; V, p. 67, comments and declarations on the "Charter", 26.5.62; V, p. 57, in Arab forces coming back from Yemen, 30.5.63; V, p. 69, People's Assembly opening session, 22.11.64.

(٧١) V, p. 311, Military club, 19.5.55; II, p. 86-7, Gabal Al-Arab Mountain villages, village of Sheik Meskin, 24.2.60, II, p. 514-7, National union celebration, cooperative convention, Cairo University, 5.12.157; II, p. 542, Celebrating land distribution of the former king in Edfina, 28.7.59; III, p. 64-5, National Union popular convention, Homs, 21.2.60; III, p. 149, Press Conference, Bombay, 9.4.60.

capitalism. Positively, it is the society of freedom, social justice and abundance. The negative is the hateful past and the positive is the hopeful future (72). The new doctrine puts limits on individual exploiting opportunities. Cooperation is the opposite of exploitation (73). In Nasser's mind, socialism and cooperation lead essentially to democracy. Democracy is not words and parties, theories and speeches but the liberation of the individual in order that he can express his opinion freely. That happens when he is liberated from all kinds of exploitation (74).

The realization of co-operative, democratic and socialist society happens gradually according to people's circumstances and needs. That requires also the preservation of national unity based on love and brotherhood and the exclusion of any class struggle. No partisanship, hatred or envy is permitted. "National Union" is the political organization which is then responsible for the realization of the new society and which took over "Liberation Rally", the previous political organization. People themselves have to defend their rights and socialist gains (75).

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(٧٢) II, p. 204, Cooperative convention, 26.11.58; II, p.299-300, Damascus, 2.2.59; III, p. 215, To the youth in the inauguration of the new station, 24.7.60, III, p. Sport festival, 10.60; III, p. 326, 333, 345-6, Port-Said, victory day, 4th anniversary, 23.12.60; III, p. 354, Port-Said Department National Union members, 1.2.60; III, p. 354.

(٧٣) II, p.253, Cooperative convention, Cairo University, 15.12.57.

(٧٤) II, p. 219-22, Cooperative convention, 26.11.5 8; III, p. 64-5, National union popular convention, 21.2.60.

(٧٥) I, p. 751, Cooperative convention, Cairo University, 5.12.57; II, p. 536, Alexandria University, 26.7.57; III, p. 655, Land distribution in Edfu, 20.9.59, III, p. 66, Aleppo, 18.2.60; III, p. 64-5, National Union popular convention, Homs, 21.2.60.

Because co-operative democratic socialism flourished during the union with Syria and the formation of UAR, the peak of Arab Nationalism, it consequently became the road to Arab Unity. Nasser felt the necessity in 1959 of introducing an ideology parallel to the Ba'th Party ideology. The new doctrine became synonymous to Arab Nationalism. The great Arab revolution is a Cooperative Democratic Socialist Revolution. It also became dangerous to imperialism and threatened its existence. Imperialism allied to feudalism and capitalism could not tolerate any doctrine of social justice (76). The new doctrine is also dangerous to Israel because it became the ideology of Arab Nationalism. Nasser admits, truly or falsely, that Arab energy, exploded in the union, had its spiritual and doctrinal effect. This energy opened new horizons in people's lives, enlightened their national character and opened their eyes to their latent capacities and their role in history (77).

Now, where is the religious element in this new doctrine: be it Cooperative, Democratic, or Socialism? Nasser insists once more that the new doctrine is a natural development of Egyptian experience. Its laws reflect the movement of Egyptian society. One of the main characteristics of the power elite, as Nasser describes it, is that they did not plug themselves into theories to look for their lives but they were plugged into their lives to look for theories. Their freedom of work, facing nature, was the best

(٧٦) I, p. 300, Damascus, 22.2.59; II, p. 500, National union meeting Gomhouria palace, 23.7.59;III, p. 229-8, Hamah, 17.10,60.

(٧٧) III, p. 464, 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61.

they had in the process of formulating their laws. Freedom of work was before theories, and theories came from nature itself. They formulated their theories from within the events they passed through. They did not borrow any doctrine from outside and imposed it on Egyptian realities, rather their doctrines sprang from Egyptian land and soil and from the power elite hearts and souls. It expressed the Revolution of the country and its social revolution. The doctrine came from nature and history to formulate a law of movement. A doctrine aims at moving, not as a purpose in itself, pushing the nation in an apparition of words and impasses of complex expressions. The greatest value of the doctrine lies in its expression of social needs and experiences. People's emotions, Nasser continued, are the greatest power which helps in formulating slogans and doctrines (78).

But Nasser, besides his former reference to the Qur'anic verse on Cooperation in doing good, takes the Qur'an as a model of gradual application of built-in doctrines. Cooperative Democratic Socialism, Nasser says, is not a written book to be applied, but a step in a system, a result of experiences and a work in society, suitable to its development, following the principle of trial and error. There is no written book called "Cooperative Democratic Socialism". No one in history was capable of writing such a book. But God gave the example. God was able to send the Qur'an in one night, but it took 23 years to

(٧٨) III, p. 213, People's Assembly opening session, 20.7.6 1; II, p. 710-11, Port Said Victory Day, 23.12.59; III, p. Arab Union National Convention, UAR 9.7.50.

recite an experimental model to follow [79]. These are the only two instances where Nasser used religion to explain Cooperative Democratic Socialism. The first doctrine he conceived was in its totality a secular doctrine.

2. Socialism (Arab) (1961-70)

Socialism became the second ideology which inherited Cooperative Democratic Socialism. It may be traced to the early days of the revolution, to the six principles, especially to those of social justice. Nasser explained why socialist application came late in the revolutionary experience. There was no chance to apply socialism in these early years, 1954-55. The power elite was busy in the evacuation of British troops. After the aggression of 1956, the power elite called for the establishment of Cooperative Democratic Socialism as a first step towards socialism. The first doctrine reached its peak in 1959, the second after the promulgation of the glorious socialist laws in July 1961 and the formulation of the “National Charter" in 1962. Nasser considered the socialist laws of July 1961 equal in importance to the Suez Canal nationalization in July 1956. The first were directed against imperialism, the second against reaction. After the cession with Syria, Nasser tried to clarify socialism and made it the ideology of the country. That was done effectively in the “National Charter" agreed upon in the National convention of popular forces a few months after the cession as a beginning of a

(٧٩) II, p. 630-1, Mahalla Al-Kubra, 8.8.59; II, p. 632-8. Egypt's Textile Company, 9.8.59; II, p. 673, High Dam Construction Celebration, 26.11.59.

democratic establishment of people's working forces, the only beneficiaries of socialism [80].

(a) Conceptual Definitions. Nasser had in mind several meanings of the word "Socialism". He used an ethical meaning, which is a constant one in all phases, concepts and ideologies, putting an end to the exploitation of man by another man. Socialism is a spiritual value and an ethical principle. Even the socio-economic and political meaning had ethical connotations. Socialism for instance means the creation of circumstances in which the individual can find himself as individual and the society can find itself as society.

Like the negative concept of social justice, Nasser defined socialism negatively. Socialism, for him, meant the end of minority rule, usurping the country's wealth, a rule represented by feudalist dictatorship, monopoly and capitalist domination. Socialism in that sense is equal to the negative concept of social justice[81]. Socialism in its very simple sense, as Nasser described, is the participation of all citizens in national wealth. That means equal opportunities and its guarantees. It meant also the liquidation of class distinctions. Nasser used many other

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(٨٠) II, p. 564-5, Declaration to the Nation, 16.10.61; V, p. 109, Military Academy Training Day, 25.6.62; V, p. 149, Unity Day 7th Anniversary, 31.7.65; V, p. 295, Interview with the Parliamentary Group, 16.5.65; V, p. 399, 13th Anniversary of the Revolution. Alexandria, 28.7.65.

(٨١) II, p. 606, Popular forces National Convention, 2nd Session, 27.5.61; V, p. 14, Unity Day, 22.2.62; V, p. 108, Military Academy Training Day, 25.2.62; V, p. 242, To the Arab people, 24.9.62; V, p. 485, Heros returning back, 22.10.63, V, p. 430-1, Discussions with the Youth, ASU, Helwan Times, 26.2.69, Al-Ahram, 3.3.69.

definitions without any precision, as if all the predicates were synonymous: end of poverty and of slave society, income distribution, security and insurance, humanity of man, the establishment of dignified society [(82)].

The definition that became a constant and permanent one was that socialism is "sufficiency and justice". Sufficiency does not mean consumption, but increase of production and development. Justice means social justice and just distribution of National income. That is why socialism is a means of social reform and not an aim in itself. It lays the ground for a new social and economic system. Social reform occurs through sufficiency and justice. Sometimes Nasser includes the means within the two concepts. In this case, sufficiency means constant work and increase of agricultural land, as well as the number of factories. Justice is done through nationalization, the end of class domination and people's control of the means of production [(83)].

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(٨٢) III, p. 564, To the people of the UAR, 16.10.61; V, p. 207 Opening a Military Club in Hilmiyya, 24.7.62; V, p. 213, 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, Alexandria Stadium, 26.7.62; Labor Day, Mahalla Al-Kubra Meeting, organized by ASU, 1.5.66; V, p. 45, In the Honor of President Kossigine, visiting UAR, 10.5.66; V, p. 110, Victory Day, Port-Said, 22.12.64.

(٨٣) III, p. 564, To the People of the UAR, 16.10' III, p. 62, Radio Declaration, 28.8.61; V, p. 207, 213, 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, 26.7.62; V, p. 65, Popular forces national convention sessions commenting the Charter" 29.5.62; V, p. 108, Military academy training day, 25.2.62; V, p. 207, Opening of an officers club in Hilmiyya, 24.7.62; to the people of UAR, 24.9.60. V, p. 281, Victory Day, 6th Anniversary, 23.12.62; V, p. 444-5, 3rd World Press Conference, 1.120.63; V, p. 213, Unity Day, 22.2.62; V, p. 281, Victory Day, 6th Anniversary, 23.12.66, V, p. 117, Victory Day, Ismailiya, 24.12.64; V, p. 243, Popular Meeting in Shubra Al-=

Socialism is defined also as a society of welfare, of happiness, of fulfilling individual needs and of social services. Answering a question whether Arab countries wealth can be sufficient to establish a successful socialist life and whether a socialist system can dominate the area as necessary development in history, Nasser replied that the wealth of every country has to be used inside the country itself not outside [(84)].

The first complete exposition of socialism in clear guidelines occurred in March 1967 as if Nasser was presenting his final bill three months before the defeat of June 1967. Nasser began by saying that success has two factors: material and moral. The first comes from the natural sources of the country, while the second comes from the moral or ideological basis of the country. He enumerated nine postulates:

1 - socialism is neither philosophical aberrations nor sounding slogans, but rather a happy home for each family, based on the work of those who are capable. It means also social services such as health, education, culture and social security.

= Kheimia, 10.3.65; V, p. 542-3, Labor Day, Mahalla Al-Kubra, organized by ASU, 1.5.66; V, p. 445, in the honor of premier Kossygine visiting UAR 10.5.66; V, p. 110, Victory Day, Port-Said, 22.12.64: V, p. 217, Popular meeting in Elmenya, 9.3.65; V, p.74, People's Assembly 2nd Session, 17.11.64; V, p. 77, V, p. 515, ASU Convention, Suez 22.3.66; V, p. 517, Victory Day, Suez 22.3.66: V, p. 75, Unity Day, 22.2.67; V, p. 109-110, Production Convention, 218.3.67;

(٨٤) III, p. 42, Radio declaration, 28.8.61; V, p. 65, Popular forces national convention sessions, commenting on the "Charter," 26.5.62; V, p. 33, Interview with Koll Shay' Magazine, Beirut; V, p. 242, To the People of UAR, 24.4.62; V, p. 346, 10th Anniversary of the Revolution. Alexandria, 26.7.63.

2 - Production is the basis of socialism. The criterion of social dedication is to help in the increase of production.

3 - Administration is a means to production increase. The administrative revolution occurs in both capitalist and socialist States.

4 - The responsibility of the chiefs of administrative councils makes them liable to punishment and reward, according to their performance and savings.

5 - The connection between salary and work and its value in productive units is necessary because work is the only means of production increase.

6 - Public wealth is as respectable as private wealth in capitalist society. It has to be protected in people's consciousness like other institutions, citizen's dignity, national borders and the right of democratic expression.

7 - Work exactitude and precision are necessary inside productive units in order to give public sector production a good name and reputation.

8 - Political organization is responsible for check and balance via popular forces, Arab Socialist Union, class alliance, to protect socialist gains of the people.

9 - Socialism is thought and action, logos and praxis, idea and behavior. Socialism cannot be built without socialists. The separation between the two was one of the biggest criticisms of Nasserism [85].

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(٨٥) V, p. 77, People's Assembly, 2nd session, 12.11.64; V, p. 85-97, Production Convention, 18.5.

Nasser spoke of socialist transformation rather than of socialism and called his experience a transitional phase to socialism. Egypt is only on the road to socialism. Egyptian society is still a capitalist society on the road to socialist society. All the world is going socialist, putting an end to monopoly, domination and feudalism and asking for social justice. Colonized countries, after obtaining their political independence, are now struggling for their economic independence and for social justice. A new type of society has to be conceived after obtaining political independence. They are now struggling for their economic independence and for social justice. New type of society has to be conceived after the liquidation of all the effects of feudalism, capitalism and bureaucracy. That is why Nasser made a distinction between socialism and socialist application. The first is a target, while the second is a transitional phase to the first (86). However, Nasser also called his transitional phase towards socialism "socialist revolution," or the "permanent revolution to establish socialism." It is a true expression of the fact that revolution is a progressive work. It is the total revolution which the "National Charter" tried to build (87).

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(٨٦) III, p. 604, National convention preparatory meeting, 25.11.61; V, p. 247, To the UAR people, 24.9.62; V, p. 454, 3rd World Press Conference, Cairo, 1.10.63, V, p. 78-81, People's Assembly opening Session, 12.11.64; V, p. 221, ASU convention, Asiout, 8.3.65; V, p. 444, Declaration to the Iraqi press delegation, 20.2.66; V, p. 295, Interview with parliamentary group ASU, 16.5.65; V, p. 453, People's Assembly, 2nd Session 25.11.65; V, p. 399, To Arab Students, Moscow, 29.8.65.

(٨٧) V, p. 213, 10th Anniversary of the revolution, Alexandria Stadium, 26.7.62; III, p. 42, Radio Declaration, 28.8.61; V, p. 41, Popular forces national convention, 3rd session, 26.5.62.

Nasser, as usual, coupled socialism with democracy. Democracy is political freedom, while socialism is social freedom. The two are inseparable. They are in Nasser's terms, two wings for the true freedom. Freedom is socialism against social injustices. It is also a democratic system against bureaucracy, promoting organizations, methods, laws, means, Canal administration, High Dam construction [(88)].

Socialism, coupled with freedom and unity, became the new slogan for Arab Nationalism. Nasser even called this Arab effervescence "Arab Socialism", the basis of Arab Social justice. Reaction conspired against Arab Nationalism and ipso facto against Arab Socialism. Later on, Nasser retracted this label and changed it to “Arab application of Socialism.” Socialism is one. It differs only in its applications. Arab Socialist application is a socialist construction, based on practical and realistic bases, not on mere theoretical forms. It differs from other applications in three characteristics: belief in God, absence of class domination and peaceful solution of class distinctions [(89)]. Sometimes Nasser adds the affirmation of private ownership and mentions the economic measures taken in Egypt to implement Arab socialism.

However, once Nasser spoke of transitional socialism, he had to have in mind scientific socialism as a final phase in

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(٨٨) III, p. 42. Radio declaration, 28.8.81; III, p. 610-11, 2nd session 27.5.61; V, p. 269670, Labor day, 29.5.65; V, p. 121, Letter to people's assembly for presidential election, 9.1.65.

(٨٩) 111p. 604, National convention preparatory committee, 2nd sessions. 25.11.61; V, p. 215, Alexandria stadium, 26.7.62; V, p. 47, Interview with German television on the occasion of the non-aligned conference, Cairo, 1.10.64;

socialist transformation. That is why he labeled his socialism scientific socialism in opposition to sentimental or imaginative socialism. Socialist society is not a charitable society deducing its norms from charitable desires. Socialism is scientific thought and behavior, deduced from political, economic and social rights of each human being to live and to work on the national soil. Nasser considered the success of his socialist experience from 1967-69 as evidence that his socialism is not imaginary, dogmatic or undefined [(90)].

(b) Economic Measures: Nasser's socialism is implemented by the following measures:

1 - Nationalization appears as the most radical measure for socialist transformation. It has no negative effect on economic development, contrary to what reactionaries say. It means the end of exploitation and the people taking back their rights. Nasser gave the example of Syria. Before nationalization, 5 people owned 500 million lyres. But Syrian separatists wanted socialism without nationalization that means socialism with exploitation, monopoly and class interests. In Syria 15 companies and in Egypt 300 companies were nationalized for the benefit of the people. Nationalization was for industry by 85 per cent, mines (except oil), transportation, banks, insurance companies, foreign trade, 100 per cent for import and 75 per cent for export, internal trade 25 per cent till 1970, the rest was for

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(٩٠) V, p. 47, Popular force, national convention. declarations commenting on the "Charter," 3rd session, 29.5.62; V, p. 89, 9 th session, 30.5.62; V, p. 96, 10th science day 14.12.64.

cooperatives and the private sector. The nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the Egyptianization of foreign companies in 1957 became the first seed in the later public sector. Socialist laws of 1961 ended the whole sale trade, 1500 millions, the construction sector, 60 per cent private sector, forming a class owning about 2000 millions.

2 - People's socialist control of the means of production, via the formation of a strong public sector leading development beside a non-exploiting private sector, depends on central planning, which was initiated in 1956-57, leading to Egyptianization and the socialist laws of 1961. Socialist laws in Syria included the nationalization of 40 companies, with State's participation via 51 percent ownership in several companies. National capital share is 51% while foreign capital is 49% in any new company.

3 – Socialism rejects monopoly ownership of land. A land ownership limitation to 100 feddans per family was stipulated in the reform laws of July 1961. Small land ownerships can be enlarged through Cooperatives. Land reform laws that were promulgated three months after the new revolution became a cornerstone in socialist laws of 1961 and later on in 1965.

4 - Workers and employees participation was provided via administrative councils of new companies, with two members out of seven, elected by secret ballot. They have rights in profit sharing of 25 percent in capital ownership. Workers are no longer goods in the process of production, rather they own their production, have their minimum wage, better conditions of work,

limited work hours to seven, paid holidays, pensions, social security and insurance. Workers increased from 3.5 million to 7.5 million, and the population increased from 20 millions to 30 millions. In Syria people, affected by the 1961 socialist laws were no more than 800 persons for the benefit of 5 millions. When these laws were cancelled after the cession, those who benefited from the cancellation were neither workers nor peasants nor soldiers, but the quintuple companies, the feudalists and the exploiters. 5 millions lost their benefits.

5 - Taxation was increased to 90 per cent of individual income and limitation of maximum individual income by £.E. 100,000 per year relative to 500.0000 before the socialist revolution. Social justice does not admit that annual income of one reaches £.E. 500,000, while the annual income per capita is £.E. 50 (91).

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(٩١) III, p. 544-8, To Arab youth, Cairo University, 2.10.61; III, p. 564-5, declaration to the People of UAR, 16.10.61; III, p. 604, National convention preparatory, committee, 1st session, 25.11.61; III, p. 610-11, 2 nd session 27.5.61, V, p. 12-1, Arab Unit Day, 22.2.62; V, p. 6, Popular forces national convention, commenting on the 2 nd "Charter," 26.5.62; V, p. 215, Alexandria Stadium, 26.7.62; IV, p. 277, Victory Day, 6 th Anniversary, 23.2.62; IV, p. 368, Popular convention, 11 th Anniversary of the revolution, Cairo, 25.7.63; V, p. 44, 15th World press conference, 1.10.61; Unity Day 22.2.62; V, p. 485, Heros returning, 22.10.63; V, p. 47, Interview to German Television on the occasion of non-aligned conference, Cairo, 1.10.64; V, p. 584, 596, Popular meeting, Damanhour, 15.6.66; V, p. 75-6, Arab Unity Day, 22.7.67; VII, p. 438, Interview to the Russian Organization Review, VII, p. 185, National convention opening session 13th Anniversary of the revolution, 23.71.69, National charter p. 54-5.

(c) Political Means: Socialism is realized with peaceful means because it is based essentially on ethical principles like social justice, love, and human dignity. Dissolving class distinctions peacefully is one of the three major characteristics of Nasser's socialism. Social justice had its political organization, the “liberation rally" (1952-56); "Cooperatives Democratic Socialism" had its political organization in the "National Union" (1957-61); and "Socialism" had its political organization in "Arab Socialist Union” (1962-70). Every political organization realized its aim in its proper ideological phase. The name “National Union" changed to "Arab Socialist Union," but the substance stayed the same. The new political organization was the embodiment of National Unity, built by free election, and represented the majority, the real beneficiaries of socialism. It contains the alliance between people's working forces, which exempt from all class struggle and faces a reactionary feudalist and capitalist alliance. After the defeat of 1967 the danger of new classes, bureaucrats, officers, administrators, national capitalists, whole sale traders, and constructors was felt.

Another political measure is the people's Assembly, having more than 50 per cent workers and peasants to guarantee majority representation. As the first measure, this second one, the ASU, remained more nominal than substantial. The representatives of the majority were always driven out by the power elite. A third political measure was legislation, whether in the constitution or in government laws. Still, the laws were the expression of power elite desires more than the expression of direct interests. Fourth and finally, military forces have their role

in protecting socialist experience in the establishment of social justice and in the completion of socialist transformation. Once military forces are under the direct control of the power elite, the power elite becomes the guarantee of itself by itself [92].

These major ideas expressed by Nasser himself, explaining his socialism, are still a purely secular idea. Only once he introduced a religious element by mentioning belief in God as one characteristics of his socialism which makes it distinct from Marxism-Leninism. It has also been said as a defensive measure against his accusation of being Marxist. But the major religious factor appears in Nasser's mind once he is under attack from Arab reactionary States, headed by Saudia Arabia of king Faisal and Yemen of Imam Yahia. All his ideas about social justice and socialism in Islam appeared in that context of self-defense, to negate an accusation and not to posit his socialism. This apologetic will be analysed independently under "religious justification".

C - Democratic Socialism, (1971-1979)

This ideology formulated by the Egyptian revolution in its last and final phase strictly characterizes only the period 1975-77. But by extension it can serve as a label of all Sadat's period, 1971-79.

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(٩٢) III, p. 567, Popular national convention commenting on “National Charter,” 2nd session, 27.5.61; III, p. 604, first session, 25.11.61; III, p. 617, 2nd session, 27.5.61; V, p. 10, 80, Popular forces national convention, 26.5.62; IV, p. 362, Guided rockets division, 15.7.63; V, p. 447, victory day. Port Said, 7th Anniversary 23.12.63; V,p. 166, ASU Parliamentary Committee, 25.2.65; V, p. 321-2, general workers union convention, 3.3.68; V, p. 329, Declaration to the nation introducing March 30 declaration, 30.3.68.

There is a real development in the Egyptian revolution as in every living phenomenon, following the Ibn Khaldun or Toyenbee concept of history: birth, revolution, regression and death. The challenge was imperialism, feudalism and capitalism allied. The response was liberation, land reform and socialism. The birth was in 1952. The revolution was from 1952-56, with its concepts of social justice, equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinction. The revolution continued through 1957-61, with the doctrine of Cooperative Democratic Socialism. The revolution reached its peak from 1962-67, the phase of socialism. The attack on Nasser's socialism which came from inside, namely the Islamic pact in 1965, did not succeed in shaking the foundation. Then came the outside attack, the Israeli aggression in 1967. The regression began from 1967- 70 till the death of Nasser, the founder of Egyptian Socialism. The defeat of 1967 was the beginning of the end. Nasser's speeches were short. They were empty of new efforts, new decisions and new socialist transformation. The new regime after Nasser's death followed the same defeated line. Although Nasser intended to review the "National Charter" in 1970 for more radical socialist measures regarding new land reform laws and new nationalization for the whole sale trade and construction sectors, and even began to form the vanguard organization to make the "Arab Socialist Union" more militant, capable of defending mass interests. In this crucial and historical moment, Nasser died.

The new regime did not even try to implement these two hopes. On the contrary, the power elite began a process of denasserization, considering the glorious "National Charter" as a

Marxist interpretation of the Nasserites and ending the role of the Arab Socialist Union and its vanguard organization as a power center. The new regime swallowed the conspiracy which began in 1967 against the most fascinating Arab modern revolution. The power elite may have not needed to swallow it because they would have followed its lines and realized its targets on their own initiative.

In this period, three phases can be observed. First, the process of denasserization from 1971-73, which began by vomiting Nasser's terminology without content, and ended by economic and political Denasserization, first against socialism, second against the Arab Socialist Union. Second the open-door Policy, 1973-75, which began directly after the October war as if the glorious October war was a preparatory step for it. Third, Democratic Socialism, 1975-77, which the regime choose as a label and which served as a peace vehicle between Egypt and Israel through International Socialism. That was the end of the Egyptian revolution.

1. Denasserization (1971-73)

This first period after Nasser's death in September 29, 1970 with the beginning of counter revolution in May 15, 1971, until the October war, 1973, is characterized by the desire to cancel the past. That happened in three steps: first, the revolution revising its own history; second, political denasserization; third, economic denasserization.

(a) Revolutionary History: The revolution conceived by the new regime after Nasser's death made its own history. Once a revolution writes its own history and transforms itself to a

historical phenomenon, when the past becomes longer than the present and the future disappears, that means the beginning of the end. That happened with other cultures, as when a culture writes its own history as with Aristotle the historian at the end of Greek culture, and Ibn Khaldun, the historian after the accomplishment of Islamic Culture.

The new power elite began to use early revolutionary slogans like freedom, democracy and social justice. They began to denounce the imperialist, feudalist and capitalist alliance like in the early days of the revolution. The doctrine of cooperative ownership returned to "Co-operative Democratic Socialism" in the pre-socialist phase. Even the six principles reappeared, but with new interpretation, emptying them of their revolutionary impulse and making them based on love, fidelity and friendship. The major historical dates of the revolution reappeared often like September 1952, the first land reform laws, January 1957, the nationalization of foreign companies and the liberation of the monetary economy—but the Nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956 is not mentioned because of its anti-imperialistic mood, expressed in July 1961 with the socialist laws. All these dates are mentioned as a film of the past, as if they formed a panegyric of the revolution. Sometimes history goes deeper into the past, to Egyptian National History since the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 till the revolution of 1952 and the revolutionary history from 1962 till Nasser's death, as if the new power elite was the agent of all these developments. The power elite wanted to have the credit of all modern history in Egypt. It was acceptable for Nasser to make that revolutionary history

because he was the real agent. But Nasser's follower was a mere imitator without the same national credit. He mentioned revolutionary documents like "National Charter" and "30th March Declaration" as purely historical, the first is Marxist, while the second was done to absorb popular discontent after the defeat of 1967. They are historical documents from the past, circumstantial writings which will never be repeated again. Although he confessed that Nasser for him was his brother, his friend, his master and his educator, and even bowed in front of his bust in the National Assembly, he used Nasser's terminology without any content as mere slogans, whether in front of Nasserite students or abroad in socialist countries. He spoke of socialist gains, of socialist laws, of socialist revolution stipulated in the constitution, without offering any new gains [(93)].

(b) Political Denasserization: The last thing Nasser built namely the "vanguard organization" was the first thing his

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(٩٣) I, p. 11, declaration in the people's assembly, 7.10.70; I, p. 24, 40th night, Nasser's memorial; I, p. 356, Declaration to the Nation about socialist union programme and national action foundation in the next phase on the occasion of political organization rebuilding, 10.6; I, p. 491, To scientific symposium, 1st Nasser Memorial, 24.9.71; I, p. 506, People's Assembly meeting as central committee, 26.71; I, p. 25, People's Assembly 20.5.71; I, p. 464, 472-6 Nasser's 1st memorial, 9.71; I, p. 327, People's Assembly, 20.5.71; I, p. 358, Declaration to the nation, 5.71; I, p. 387, Socialist Union 2nd National convention 2nd session 23.7.71; I, p 402, II, p. 274-86, Socialist Union national convention, new session, 23.7.72; II, p. , People's Assembly 14.5.72; May 15, 1971; V, p. 148-9, interview in Yougoslavia, Berioni 3.3.74; 10th Student Alexandria University, 3.4.74; V, p. 609-10, Nasser’s 4th Memorial 28.4.74; V, p. 814, the same occasions; V, p 640, People's Assembly opening session, 23.10.74,

follower destroyed. He accused Nasserites of being Communists and Marxists, or at least working with them hand in hand. He called them the "Society of Nasser's Beneficiaries," who put on Nasser's dress but they do not believe in him because they were the first during his life to criticize him as if the model of the citizen is to follow the leader, not to oppose him. But the biggest accusation made by the power elite against Nasserism was its equation with dictatorship, torture, police system and arrests. The new regime found its slogans in the opposite side: democracy, free expression, "My free press," destruction of prisons. Under Nasser, the people were humiliated, now the people have regained their dignity. Nasserism is equal to sequestration, now comes the era of sequestration's liquidation [94].

The "Arab socialist union," which had the task under Nasser of protecting socialism, was severely hit. Nasserists were excluded from all mass media, from the Army and from the Universities. That happened on three steps. First, the liquidation of "Centers of Power" in the "Arab Socialist Union" (ASU) and most of the "vanguard organization". Second, the formation of a political decor called the tripartite tribunes within the ASU with a long mass-media campaign against opinion monopoly. Third, the continuation of the same decor by a tripartite system, right, left and center with complete sequestration on the left. The new ASU has to follow traditions and to use honorable means. The

(٩٤) I, p. 506, People's Assembly meeting. 2.6.71; I, p. 351-3 declaration to the nation about socialist union programme and national action foundations in next phase, on the occasion of the beginning of political organization rebuilding its popular organization, 10.6.71; II, p. 325, People's Assembly, 15.5.72.

left is opportunism, political games, corner formation practices, bad will and a Russian agent. The ASU has to be rebuilt from the base to the summit, with direct supervision of the President. That means the end of political opposition within the ASU. The newly built ASU excluded all opposition groups, all trouble makers and all conspirators against national unity. Thus, the ASU was emptied from its content and lost its relative vitality. It had three new constitutive elements: Workers, youth and women movements, and a non-revolutionary discussion without revolutionary vanguard. Its function will be mainly public services (health, education, and insurance) without any political role. It is an "apolitical" political organization (95).

The ASU has to be directed collectively, that means the liquidation of the revolutionary vanguard, which was eliminated later in democratic socialism. May 15 was the beginning of the counter-revolution against the political organization.

The new ASU uses only peaceful means in its political practices, within these three laws: National unity, social peace and necessity of social cohesion. The first two aim at stabilizing the society and at abolishing the contradiction of class interests. The third one is a mere reminiscence of Nasserism. Other slogans appeared to stabilize social mobility and to defend the status quo. The "Canonization of the Revolution" aims at stopping the

(٩٥) I, p. 274, 14.5.71, speech, 10.6.71; I, p. 330, 15.5.70; I, p. 334, 341; I, p. 397, ASU national convention, 1st session, 23.7.71; II, p. 81, ASU popular convention, special session 16.7.72; II, p. 111 Answers to questions of national convention members, 16.7.72; I, p. 326-7, declaration to the nation 20.5.71.

Revolutionary impulse and emptying the Revolution of its popular vital push. It means stability, social control and stagnation instead of transformation, development and revolution. Social legitimacy or constitutional legitimacy aimed also at all socialist transformation. The law is made to conserve what is against what ought to be. It defends stability against movement, and the present against the future. In the name of legitimacy (Shar'iya), sequestration and ant-feudalist laws were abolished. Most of these laws were anti-democratic. But at the same time, the power elite makes its own list of political sequestration, hundred of opposition names, most of them Nasserists. The main aim of the socialist general prosecutor was to prosecute socialists and democrats. The anti-democratic laws after riots in January 1977 cannot be democratic in any way. The slogan, of “permanent constitution”, "State's, Authority", "rule of law,” “Institution's State”, all of them are static concepts aimed at stabilizing the society and at stopping social mobility. On these State concepts a national action programme was conceived. The Revolution yielded to the State [(96)].

In spite of historical slogans which became synonymous with Arab Nationalism, like "Freedom, Socialism and Unity," the new regime rejected the classification of Arab countries as progressives and reactionaries. This rejection aimed at helping reactionary systems and at co-operating with them. It pleased reactionaries because they will be readmitted within the Arab

(٩٦) Labor day, 1.5.71; I, p. 454-5 Declaration to the Nation, 16.9.7 3; I, p. 326-7 Declaration to the Nation on the SU programme and the foundation of National action in next phase, on the occasion of the beginning of political rebuilding; III, p. 91, People's Assembly and Central Committee, 26.3.73.

world, after being excluded during Nasser's time. Their regimes became stable after being shaken during Nasserist Socialism. Also a general distinction among the people between Nasserist and non-Nasserist, progressive and reactionary, socialist and capitalist, liberal and conservative was always rejected. All citizens make one family with one Father in one tradition. In this way, any revolutionary movement was outlawed. Arab policy in general minimized. "Arab Socialist Union" was called "Social Union". That trend was canonized later in "Democratic Socialism" by the few pages on Arab Unity and especially after the peace initiative. Arab Unity appeared after the October war in the oil embargo, thanks to Faisal who paid his life for it two years later [97].

It is really strange that the new power elite was aware as early as 1971, and as it was in Nasser's time, of American goals in the area. They are three: first, the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the area, a "Friend in war and peace;" second, Egypt's isolation from the Arab World, because Egypt is, history and destiny, a part of the Arab World; third, the destruction of the socialist experience in Egypt, socialism which was the only road to development.

These three goals were realized later by the power elite after The October war, 1973. The power elite's policy was based essentially on three elements: the destruction of the revolutionary vant-guard which Nasser built, the approach to America and peace with Israel[98].

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(٩٧) I, p. 274, p. 330-4, p. 397, p. 385 ASU popular convention, 1st session, 23.7.7; I, p. 506, People's Assembly Meeting as Central Committee, 2.6.71.

(٩٨) I, p. 530, People's Assembly Special Session, 11.11.71.

(c)Economic Denasserizaton. As the power elite did with political denasserization, it continued on the same path for economic Denasserization. Most of Nasserist's economic slogans became without content. The leading role of the public sector became a mere expression, contrary to facts and to the free hand given to private capital. Planning ended. The desire to dismantle the public sector and sell it to different companies became stronger and stronger. Diminution of subsidies, absence of protection of national goods, the end of State participation in foreign companies, yielding its role to private capital, all these economic measures aimed at denasserizing the Egyptian economy. Asked whether socialism means more socialism and nationalization, the power elite answered that socialism is based on two principals: State control of the means of production (not people's control as under Nasser, which unveils the authoritarian type) and no exploitation of one man by another man. The first principal is mere words, while the second is an ethical vision, not an economic system. Some slogans were evaporated from their social and economic content. Equal opportunities apply only in education, not in income. The students have to be pleased with free education and concentrate their effort on studying, not on politics, in order to enjoy free education. Justice is no more social, but a general term coupled with peace and freedom in the world, an empty principal in international relations. The famous definition of socialism as sufficiency and justice became more inclined towards sufficiency rather than justice. People's satiety under Sadat has to follow people's frustration under Nasser. But sometimes the power elite overbids. Solving social problems happens by more socialism. Solving Arab Unity problems and democratic problems by more Arab Unity and more democracy.

Although the language of the "National charter" is used, realities contradict the words, like the liquidation of class privileges and, at the same time, the highest degree of upward social mobility for the new class [(99)].

The attack on socialism is made by evaporating its content and making it purely formal. Socialism becomes essentially not a socialist revolution but an administrative revolution. The modern socialist State is a modern adminstrative State, not income redistribution and social justice, but a social administration of natural resources of the people. Success in development is due to success in administration. Moreover, socialism cannot be imposed from above as under Nasser in the last 20 years. It has to be constructed by the people from the bottom. Because "the people" is essentially the mercantile sector, socialism from below means free trade and free economy [(100)]. In short, the new power elite continued in this period 1971-73 to speak Nasser's language, while emptying it from its contents, preparing the way for the creation of an independent new terminology.

2. Open-Door Policy (1973-75)

A new term is forged to characterize the new regime after the processes of Denasserization. The first time the world Infitah was used in Sadat's political speeches was in May 1973,

(٩٩) I, p. 358, Declaration to the nation; II, p. 112, ASU popular convention, Special session, 16.2.72; II, p, 26, in front of people's group representatives, 25.11.72; II, p. 44 and p.46, the same occasion; II, p. 63, honoring Bulgarian President, 11.2.72; II, p. 183, Labor Day, 1.5.72; II, p. 298, People's Assembly 14.5.72; II, p. 287, People's Assembly, 23.7.72; III, p. 318, Nasser's 3rd memorial, 28.9.73.

(١٠٠) I, p. 58, Declaration to the People's Assembly, opening session; I, p. 5189, People's Assembly, 1st session, 11.11.71.

answering a question of a Yugoslavian journalist, whether the President is right or left, and whether these two terms have the same meaning as they have in the West. Sadat replied that Egypt chose the road to socialism before it had any relation with the Soviet Union or Socialist Block at all, because socialism is a necessary process. Tito waged a battle of economic open-door policy against Stalin and was accused of going to the right. Sadat confirmed that he is also going right in this Tito sense. However left means, for Sadat, more progress and more socialist construction, while right means stagnation and reduction. Answering another question about the impossibility of combining socialism with an open-door policy, he gave the example of Yugoslavia (101). Two years later, Sadat gave another example from Russia, which also practiced the open-door policy. It lived under the iron curtain, as Egypt lived in the last 20 years. Russia has enormous natural resources, which cover two continents, Europe and Asia. Egypt utilizes only 3 or 4 per cent of its territory and yet closed the door. Russia after 55 years imported Western technology from America and Japan. Likewise, Egypt cannot be isolated from the whole world, Egypt consumed all she had in the last 7 years since the defeat of 1967. Its economy arrived at point Zero. It has not stopped yet, but the economy runs in slow motion and has to be accelerated. The Open-Door policy, in Sadat's mind, is nothing peculiar to Egypt. It was practiced in the East as well as in the West (102).

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(١٠١) III. 168, interview with Yugoslavian International Journalist Daria Nekovitch, 27.5.73; V p. 29-30, interview with the Lebanese Al-Anuar, 8.1.75.

(١٠٢) Interview with Lebanese Al-Hawadith Magazine, 21.8.75, p. 11-3; V p. 237, Labor Day, 1.5.75.

(a) Reasons and Definitions. In Sadat's speeches, reason and definitions of the open-door policy are mixed together, which means that the open door policy was a practical necessity rather than a theoretical concept. In the new regime, open-door was necessary as socialism was necessary under Nasser. Both economic systems were the expression of a crisis. The actual crisis is, in Sadat's terms, the stalemated economy and the closed door economy. People's frustration in the last 20 years required people's satiety through the new open-door policy. A modern State has to mobilize all its energy for development and to put all its powers in the service of production increase. But the government alone cannot do everything. The people themselves have to enter the process of development. Egypt has to reach the stage of progress of all the world. The Open-Door policy must therefore have two elements, a general and a particular. The general is modern technology, which every developing country has to import and to learn. The particular is the local material, natural resources and labor. This definition makes the West the real agent of progress, each other country has to copy and imitate the West. Another definition makes the open-door policy two things: production plus employment. That means new income and new job opportunities. Sadat, instead of changing the "National Charter" in 1970 as desired by Nasser, used Nasserist terminology to express his idea of the open door policy as a natural development of Egypt, at the same time defending himself against the accusation of Nasserist deviationism or revisionism [103].

(١٠٣) II p. 184-5, interview with German magazine "Stern", 12.4.74; V p. 37 Labor Day, 1.5.75, To the land transportation workers p. 12-4, and p.49-50,July,1977;=

Sufficiency took over justice and became the only element in the open-door policy which satisfies the new classes' demands of income increase and upward social mobility. Justice meant only the distribution of the development surplus in the form of income without designating to whom the distribution is made.

Finally, the open-door policy is not only an economic term but also cultural, scientific, and technological. That means a total open door policy. It means the availability of intellectual and scientific resources presented by the West. It is also psychological and attitudinal. That means an open and receptive mind for Western cultural invasion. Egypt lives, in Sadat's words, in a world full of political and social systems. She ought to know the experiences of others. She cannot live isolated from the rest of the world, if she is to overcome underdevelopment and to reach the last stage of modernism. In Sadat's image, the world is a Transistor [(104)].

(b) Fields and Measures. The Open-Door policy is applied in all economic sectors, a free market economy in agriculture, industry, banks, oil, tourism, trade, free zones, free cities. Under the pretext of solving public sector problems, overcoming its obstacles, liberalizing its routines, and helping it in minimizing its losses, the public sector, steps were taken to dismantle and transform it into private companies. Under the pretext of public

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= III p. 321, Nasser's 3rd memorial, 29.9.74; SU, Central Committee, March 1976.

(١٠٤) V p. 126, Interview with the Lebanese Journalist Alia' Al-Solh, 29.3.74; V p. , 22nd Anniversary of the Revolution, Alexandria University, 23.7.74; To Ismailya People, March 1976, p.B, 3- 4, To the Nation, 3.2.77, p. 20.

sector rationalization, the public sector began to decline and was sold out to the private sector. The Open Door policy is, in Sadat's words, against bureaucracy and stagnation, it permits the citizens' creative powers to burst out. The main decision was the free hand given to foreign capital, alone or with a co-partner from private capital. Asked a question whether the open-door policy means hotels full of businessmen, press columns full of bank rates and foreign investment company news, or it means that Egypt becomes the center for the international monetary market, the President answered that the open-door policy means the encouragement of the private sector, as well as Arab and foreign investment. The petrodollars which were doubled many times after the October war have to be invested in Egypt by noble Arab motives. The economic wisdom behind the flow of Arab and foreign money in Egypt is the instability of the international monetary market. Political and social stability in Egypt, for the President, is a condition sine qua non for foreign capital. Feeling the complete difference between this and Nasser's protection of national capital, Sadat reinterpreted the "National Charter" on his own and evoked its acceptance of unconditional capital, loans and direct investments in sectors which need international experts and new development. All the guarantees are given to foreign capital, with other encouragements like tax exemption for five years [105].

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(١٠٥) I p. 458, Declaration to the nation, 16.9.71; V p. 292-5 Labor Day: 1.5.74; V p. 126, Interview with Lebanese journalist Alia Al-Solh, 29.3.74; V p. 171-3, 1Oth Student Congress, Alexandria University, 3.4.74; V p. 190, Interview to Arab missions, 16.4.74; V p. 292-4, Labor Day, 1.5.74; ASU National =

(c) Results and Consequences: Open-door policy results were felt as soon as it began, even by the President himself. Some consequences are not yet felt but are long range results which will have their impact on National consciousness. The President himself, two years after the launch of the open-door policy, observed four things: (1) the open-door policy was not realized because of some reminiscence of old socialism; Since true socialism is production, one thing only is prohibited, exploitation of one man by another man; a free hand in development is not contrary to socialism; (2) some bureaucratic obstacles plus complexities of procedures stopped several projects; the open-door policy must overcome these obstacles and lead the country to modern times; (3) wealth accumulation occurred from parasitic income of a few people, to the detriment of the majority; the society tended to become a society of millionares, not society of workers and producers; the open-door policy created new sources of parasitic incomes like speculation, commissions and black markets; (4) price increases caused by the flow of money in the hands of the middle class, and the imbalance between price increases and income increases for lower class [(106)].

The distinction made later on in 1978 between open-door policy of consumption and the open-door policy of production

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= Convention Opening Session, 22.7.75, p. 26-8; V p. 573-80, Interview with chief editor of the Saudia'Okath, 6.9.47; V p. 693, People's Assembly opening Session, 23.10.74; V p, 82-90, Message to People's Assembly, 4.2.75.

(١٠٦) V p. 82-90, Message to People's Assembly, 4.2.75.

did not abolish the fact that the open-door policy is made for consuming goods to be imported and consumed. National products lost any protection. Other industries were disappearing, like the pharmaceutical industry, the tire industry, and even the textile industry. Inflation threatened social stability and more class distinctions were created. The distance between the upper class and the lower class became greater and greater. The public sector was severely hit. Planning ended, subsidies were lifted and State intervention was limited. Commissions, illegal transactions, bribes for high public officials, including administrators, ministers, vice prime-ministers, and even the top power in the State, became the center of corruption and and the hallmark of capitalism. Public services like roads, highways, restaurants, refreshments, night-clubs and hotels were made only for the middle class and not for poor workers, peasants and small employees or the working class in schools and hospitals [107].

The indirect consequences of the open-door policy are more serious than the direct results. First, the new policy caused the invasion of national culture by Western culture and the loss of national identity. Imperialism returned, not in its classical form, but as Westernization, cultural imperialism, that means Egyptian television on sale, foreign producing companies for Western movies.

Second, the free market economy projected an individualistic world view based on competition and profit. The insistence on values and traditions, or the formation of a "Value

(١٠٧) V p. 651-3, interview with Arab Week Magazine, 5.10.74; I p. 458, Nasser's 1st Memorial, 28.9.71.

Committee" in the People's Assembly, would not diminish the power of this unethical vision. Socialism under Nasser gave priority to society over the individual, while the open-door policy gave priority to individual initiative over social and State measures. Nasserism wanted to liberate the majority from minority domination. Sadatism wanted to put the majority again under the rule of the active minority.

Third, political authority itself came to help the active minority and family capitalism. The President himself defended publicly a multi-millionaire contractor. He fired the head of the old ASU when he spoke about fat cats and fat cows, though he was only taking the theme from the President himself, but more seriously. He denied publicly the existence of 500 millionaires in Egypt as repeated in the People's Assembly. Every criticism to "the men at the top" is considered dubious and false rumor. Nobody needs to be a Marxist to understand that political authority is an expression of economic power.

3- Democratic Socialism (1975 - 1977)

If the open-door policy was the means to economic Denasserization, Democratic Socialism was the means to political Denasserization. The new regime felt the need to formalize its ideology for three reasons: First, the opposition to Nasserism, which was in Sadat's mind, dictatorial socialism or socialism of jails and prisons, arrests and torture, permits the comparison between the two and the choice between them becomes obvious. It began only as an anti-Nasserist slogan. Sadat could not shy away from socialism, but he could add

democracy, the stumbling block to Nasserism. Sacrificing democracy under Nasser was indeed a negative point beside a positive one, which is socialism. Under Sadat, both slogans are negative. He did not want to concentrate on socialism, because it had become anchored in people's hearts and minds, but he could concentrate only on Democracy. Proud of his democracy to the detriment of Nasser, Sadat made the history of the revolution from the democratic side, not from the social side, as if the revolution was necessarily going to democratic socialism and not towards Nasserist socialism (108).

Second, the ideology appeared in July 1977 and the peace initiative was in November 1977. It was a preparation to approach Israel through International socialism, a bridge between Egypt and Israel for direct negotiations. Egypt had its ruling party, Democratic Socialist, and Israel had its opposition party, the Labor Party, also democratic socialist. Once direct negotiations and the peace treaty were concluded that the ruling party in Egypt became the National Democratic Party and socialism was dropped forever.

Third, the ideology is an expression of a middle class ideology, especially the new class of merchants, businessmen, commissioners, contractors, whole sale traders and all "Les nouveaux riches". They needed only a label as grandiose as Nasserism. They chose the label without any ideological content.

(a) Conceptual Definitions. Sadat interpreted the experimental and pragmatic type of Nasser's socialism for his own

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(١٠٨) I p. 137.

use, namely the complete deviation from socialism. He says the Revolution of 23rd of July did not apply socialism from the beginning, but the Revolution went through phases of occupation, liberation, Suez Canal, nationalization of banks and foreign companies, and Egyptianization. Socialism was chosen by free will, without imitation or importation from other experiences. Socialism is not a theoretical form, but a program for national action. There is no fixed theory, imposed on other countries, but new international and national changes. Theories have to change. The documents of the revolution are not divine commands, but are all written by men [(109)]. All theories are abstract. Here, Nasser's pragmatic and experimental approach turned out to be the rejection of all theories as a pretext to reject socialism itself. Sadat's revision of socialism is based on three principles: first, socialism can be changed according to new national and international circumstances. It is not a theory, but an experience coming out of Egyptian soil and people's struggle; second, every group has the right to express itself without any domination by other groups. During Nasser's time, the revolutionary vanguard was a dominating group. Third, all efforts have to be directed towards reduction. Social democratic society is a society of producers [(110)].

Many socialist decisions were not implemented in practice. Socialism stayed on the level of words. Sadat gave some socialist guidelines in the following: law of compulsory security

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(١٠٩) ASU National convention opening session, 22.7.75, p. 17-9.

(١١٠) To Egyptian people and Arab Nation, People's Assembly opening session, 18.10.75, p. 13-4.

on occupation of buildings, with certain values and the use of a part of it to subsidize middle and poor class housing; law limiting the prices of apartment sale via rent evaluation committees, to prevent commissions and speculation; contract for participation in funding Nasser's social bank; reformulation of law of illegal income because of the gaps in the actual law; reports on individual income investigation committees from all public officials, executives, administrators, responsible, and politicians; law of deviations and bribes in productive units; law of punishments and rewards in all productive units; and rectifications in the framework of law and justice.

Other decisions stayed theoretical or had no effects at all, including: giving small government and public sector employees inflation aid; price regulation for principal goods; food security programs; new tax laws; reduction of State expenditure; minimum wage increase from 9 to 12 £.E. per month; minimum wage tax exemption from 250 to 360 £.E. for families with children, and from 150 to 240 for bachelors; minimum pension increase from 360 to 600 £.E.; 50 per cent profit share for workers in the public sector; doubling the budget for public services; postponing loan payments. Some of these verbal decisions were made after the January 1977 riots to absorb popular discontent, like high taxes for the rich and tax exemption for the poor; 25 years in jail are given for those who escape paying their taxes. Every citizen is free to earn as he wants, but he has to pay his taxes. The State gives every citizen life opportunities and in return, every citizen has to fulfill his duties vis-à-vis the State. Taxes are the main instrument to realize

social goals, namely dissolving class distinctions by equal sacrifices. Taxation is a means to limit health cost increases and to narrow class distinctions. It is also a limit to opulence, consumption of luxury goods and high life style [(111)].

All these ideas are hodge-podge ideas. They do not derive from a coherent ideological system, but serve as a legitimation of the status quo on the level of ideas. Regarding democracy, there is no new ideological effort. The two major papers presented, the October paper in 1974 and Tatwir of ASU paper, also in 1974, presented no new ideas. On the contrary, the first aimed to put an end to Nasser's socialism instead of developing the "Charter" as Nasser had hoped in 1970. The second is to put an end to political organization. That means an end to popular protection of socialist gains, as Nasser wanted to do via formation of the vanguard organization.

Sadat begins by the six principles of the revolution in 1952. He retains only the sixth, namely the establishment of a true democratic life, which Nasser left without implementation. Answering a question whether SU is a governmental institution or a gathering to serve the system, the President replied negatively. Membership will be optional and free opinion will be expressed via triparty tribunes: right, left and center, a mere decor by which Sadat wanted to give the impression of a liberal regime to please the West, especially America. SU will continue to practice what it

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(١١١) V p. 82-3, Message to People's Assembly, 4.2.75; V p. 241, Labor Day, 1.5.75; SU National convention opening session, 32.7.75; to the nation, p. 54-5, 3.77; V p. 297-4, Labor Day, 1.5.74.

is asked to do with peaceful means, without violence or class struggle. Later on in 1977, the three tribunes were transformed to three parties, also under the dictatorship of ASU [(112)]. All parties have to accept three principles: necessity of a socialist solution, National Unity and Social Peace. Every opposition is considered against the two last principles. After the January riots, many anti-democratic laws were issued against demonstrations, false rumors, class hatred or atheism. The President is the arbiter between authorities. That means the only authority [(113)].

(b) Anti-Marxism. The experimental type of socialism, as an authentic socialist experience, was already used in Nasser's time for the rejection of socialism per se and for the separation between Nasser's socialism from one side and Communism and Marxism from the other side. While the left elsewhere claimed another land ownership limitation and economy take over by the State, Egyptian experience tried to make the balance between public and private ownership [(114)]. Also during Nasser's time, when there was no danger from leftist ideologies, namely Marxism and Communism, the authentic Egyptian experience co-operated willingly with Marxists and Communists because they were also nationalists. Nasser always said that Marxists do not present any

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(١١٢) Central Committee, 20.11.75, p. 7-8; Nasser's 7th memorial, 28.9.77 p. 9, 117-18, interview with Selim Al-Lauzi, Chief editor of Lebanese magazine al Hawadith 19.3.75.

(١١٣) II, p. 222, People's Assembly, 14.6.72, May 1st Memorial; V p. 248, Labor Day, 1.5.75; People's Assembly Special Session 14.8.76, p. 25; V, 248, Labor Day, 1.5.75; Central Committee, 20.11.75, p. 36-7.

(١١٤) I, p. 716, Alexandria, 26.7.57.

danger for him. He knew them all by name and could put them all in jail in 24 hours. In periods of danger, Communism is an agent of Zionism, misleading the people by beautiful slogans on equity, or raising the standard of living of workers and peasants. The founder of the Egyptian communist party was the Zionist, Henry Coriell.

Although the revolution of 23rd of July 1952, represented by Nasser, refused to characterize its ideology as an intermediary between Capitalism and Communism, Sadat's Democratic Socialism claimed this intermediary position, which is in fact closer to Capitalism than to Socialism. While Sadat affirms that social experiences are not isolated from each other, but a part of human cultures communicating with each other fruitfully and creatively, Democratic Socialism borrows only from Western ideas and rejects all other experiences coming from any other cultures. Sadat used the weakest of Nasser's themes and made it his major point. Answering a question about political authority vis-à-vis the left, he replied that the Egyptian citizen is neither left nor right. Cooperation is made with the left. This answer is made to preserve the democratic image the regime wants to have in the West. Answering another question about the participation of communist organizations in recent events, and whether this is a turning point in Egypt's revolution with international left, he replied that the national left disapproves what happened [115]. But

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(١١٥) II, p. 102, interview with Frank Koprens, Representative of Colombia Network, 6.4.58; I, p. 1, Mass Transportation Union inaugurating their union hospital and institute, 14.4.54; III, p. 641, National convention preparatory committee, closing session, 3.12.61;V p. 660, People's Assembly opening session 23.10.74; V p.654,=

there is another left which is always "connected", that means agent to a foreign power, Russia. The national left supports Sadat, but the agent left opposes him. Asked about the destiny of the Communist Party in this bad atmosphere between Egypt and the Soviet Union, he replied that the Egyptian left exists in the SU, but the Communist Party is outlawed because it is pro-Khaddafi, pro-Soviet Union and against Sadat.

Because the open-door policy needed political stability for the flow of foreign capital, the January 1977 riots were a turning point in the Presidential psyche. He accused all the left of being agents of the Soviet Union, traitors, dishonest and atheists. The January riots for him were "thieves' riots". Here Sadat uses his religious vocabulary and plays his religious hypocritical game as shown in 'Religious Justification".

(c) Recognition of Zionism: Without going to the hypothesis of an international conspiracy headed by the CIA and international imperialism covered by multinational corporations, it is enough to follow the course of events in hindsight to recognize a plan realized gradually from Denasserizatoin, toward the open-door policy and Democratic Socialism. The final target of the plan is Zionist recognition, peace with Israel, and the linkage between Egypt and the West. The Nasserist National project as anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-Zionist came to an end. After the 1967 defeat, the main issue was foreign policy, not domestic policy. The revolution wanted to protect itself

= Interview to "Arab Week" Magazine, 9.10.74; V p. 78, Interview to Anouar Magazine, 8.1.75.

against Imperialist and Zionist expansion. Under Sadat, "electric shock" foreign policy was conceived as a cover-up for the losses in domestic policy. Once America had been given free hand in the Arab Israeli conflict, Egypt would have a new role in Africa as a protector of Western interests. After Camp David's agreements and the peace treaty with Israel, foreign policy yielded to domestic policy. The slogan became construction, conquering the desert, and the food security program. Peace will bring abundance [(116)].

That was the major ideology in the mind of the Egyptian power elite. Every ideology was autonomous. It helped in putting national experiences on a theoretical level. But the question not yet answered was: what about the religious factor? Was religion a major element in the formation of these concepts and ideologies? The answer: religion came only as a defensive mechanism to justify national experience under attack from its opponents, external under Nasser and internal under Sadat.

III - Religious Justifications

There is a common idea that Nasser's Socialism is Islamic. The question is whether he based his socialism on Islam or used Islam as a defensive mechanism to defend his socialism against conservative States which used religion to attack Nasser's socialism? Was Nasser a founder of Islamic socialism or did he want to disarm his opponents of their sharpest weapon, religion? Are the two versions two different interpretations of Islam or two

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(١١٦) V p. 126, interview with Lebanese Journalist Alia al-Solh, 29.3.74.

justifications of different socio-political regimes, the conservative and the progressive? Is there any theoretical truth in this conflict, or is it a matter of power struggle? In other terms, is the conflict of interpretations religious or is it purely political, based on religious justifications from both sides? It may be said that the use of Islam to justify Socialism was necessary to fill the theoretical gap the regime was feeling. But this hypothesis may be disregarded because the regime recognizes the absence of a prior theory and considers this absence as one of its merits.

If we follow Nasser's development of his thought to know when the religious factor appeared and when it disappeared, we can say without hesitation that his thought was essentially secular. The religious element appeared only one time in the concept of Equity. God created us equal, a popular idea. Nasser, after all, is one of the people. The second time was taking the Qur'an as an example of gradual revolution and consequently gradual application of Socialism. It was also a common idea which every pupil knew in school and which the mass-media used to express to slow down any revolutionary process. Aside from these two positive references to Islam, all the rest is negative, as a defensive mechanism against the attack of religious groups from inside Egypt like the Muslim Brothers, or from outside like Saudia Arabia.

An early connection between Islam and social Justice appeared during Nasser's struggle with the Muslim Brothers, which began publicly in 1954. Nasser counter attacked by accusing that they didn’t go beyond religious slogans. They left

them empty without any social or political content, whereas the revolution realized the social content of those slogans. The Muslim Brothers said: the Qur'an is our constitution and the revolution came to dethrone the king, to put an end to corruption and social injustice and realize the evacuation of British Troops from Egypt. Isn't that Islam? [117]. But, the same criticism can be made of Nasser's socialism, which launched political and social slogans without implementing them correctly, like freedom, democracy, social justice, equity, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinctions. Moreover, realities are contrary to slogans, and even in diametrical opposition. The same criticism can be addressed to every political regime, because of the gaps between declared policies and practical realities. At the same time, Nasser wrote an introduction to a book on socialism, referring to Islamic socialism. But Nasser also wanted to counter attack Muslim brothers and to prove that he is more progressive. He had two points: Islam and socialism, while they had only one that of Islam.

Two years later, religious justification began in 1956 with a question from the Tempo correspondent, whether there was any resemblance in principle between Islamic religion, on which Arab States policy is based, and Marxism, and whether religious criticism is the reason why Arabs stayed away from Communism? Nasser replied that Islam is the religion of the Arab Majority. Islam states the general principles of human co-operation. There is

(١١٧) I, p. 219, in the great meeting in the liberation rally headquarters for the discussion of the evacuation Treaty, 5.9.54.

no need for new principles, communist or others [118]. This reference to Islam was made from outside. Foreign powers were afraid, at that time, of Egyptian alignment to the East. They wanted assurances that the struggle against imperialism and nationalization measures, the struggle for political and economic independence, will not lead to an alignment with the socialist camp against the West. After the triumph of Egypt in the Suez Canal battle, and after it became an example of a Third World country struggling for its independence, suspicions about Nasser arose in the Western mind.

Three years later in 1959, the reference to Islam appeared again during the rift between Nasser in Egypt and Kassem in Iraq. In an interview with the Indian journalist Karangya, who asked Nasser about the communist danger to Islam and about legal opinions (Fatawi) launched against atheism, which bothered public opinion in India and Yugoslavia and also harmed Arab Nationalism which had to be sensitive to non-Islamic minorities. Nasser denied using Islam for propaganda. But because Iraqi leaders in their writings expressed an atheistic non-Islamic view, every one, Muslim or Christian was against them. Political authority had nothing to do with that attack on Iraqi Communists. Nehru himself observed that Communists in Iraq waged religious war and hurt popular feelings of the Muslims. News came from Iraq that the Qur'an was torn down. That gave every Muslim a bad feeling in Cairo and in Damascus. Nasser himself is a religious

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(١١٨) I p. 636, Political Interview with Italian corespondant, 11. 12.56.

man who rejects atheism. Religiosity is not only in rituals but also in daily conduct and in human relations [119].

Here Nasser played the role which Saudia Arabia played later, namely the attack on socialism, a disguised form of communism, against Iraqi leaders. The purpose was not to defend Islam, but to use religion in the power struggle against his competitor Kassem of Iraq. Whether religious leaders launched their Fatawi against Kassem following Nasser's directions or on their own, in both cases they followed the same political line as political authority.

The minister of religious affairs, or the Sheikh of al-Azhar, the head of the Islamic research council or minister of Information are all appointed by political authority. All followed their boss whether by function, by order or by voluntary action to please the authority. Slaves knew always how to fulfill the desires of their masters.

Two years later (1961), religious justification of Nasser's socialism Was in full gear shortly after the promulgation of the famous socialist laws. It continued til 1965, the beginning of another battle, that of the “Islamic Pact.” It reached its peak in 1962, 63. Islam which Nasser used against Kassem, was used two years latter by Faisal against Nasser himself. The use of religion was natural because religion is a popular tradition. It can serve as an easy way to convince the Masses. Religion, in developing countries, plays a role of political ideologies in

(١١٩) II p. 421-2, interview with Indian journalist Karangya, 17.4.59.

developed countries. Nasser began his counter attack against Arab reactionaries after he knew that they had used Islam against Arab Socialism. He wanted to disarm his opponents from the sharpest weapon they had, the religious one [120]. Indeed Arab reactionary regimes, in Saudi Arabia and Yemen, began their attack against Nasser's socialism after the cession between Egypt and Syria in September 1961. They thought it was the proper time to attack Nasser and to destroy his socialist revolution after he was weakened and hit in the back after the cession. The attack came essentially from Radio Mecca.

There were two ways of religious justification, a positive way, where Nasser proved that Islam is a socialist religion, and a negative way, where he replied to Arab reactionary attacks. Both are intertwined and inseparable. They were launched in the same line of thought. Although logically negation proceeds affirmation, for the sake of understanding, politically the positive element in Nasser's use of religious justification, the positive way "Islam and socialism" came before the negative way "Islam and reaction".

1. Islam and Socialism

According to Nasser, Islam, as a socialist medieval Islam, formed the first socialist experience in the world. The prophet Mohammed was the head of the first socialist State. He was the first who applied nationalization policies in the famous saying, “People share three: Water, Grass and Fire". In another version, salt is added.

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(١٢٠) V p. 312, Popular meeting in Aswan on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63.

These were, at that time, the fundamental sources of wealth which correspond nowadays to agriculture, industry, and mining [121].

Islam, Nasser continued, is a religion of equity, of social justice and of equal opportunities. That means Islam is a religion socialism. Religion and socialism both are equity between equal opportunities, law raising the standard of living and solving class distinction. This religion made equal opportunities the bases of punishment and reward. Every one begins his life and has his own works. He does not begin by a class inheriting poverty, ignorance or disease, or as an exploiting class for the majority. There are no masters and slaves by inheritance. There are workers and no peasants by inheritance. All men are free and equal. Islam does not permit a society with poor and rich. Before the revolution, 5 per cent owned 50 per cent of the national income. The revolution came to put an end to this unjust income distribution and to abolish capitalist and feudalist classes. Doing this, the revolution applied Islam, because Islam does not allow the rich to usurper the poor [122]. Here, Nasser makes an idyllic image of early Islamic society, almost a communistic society, as Marx and Engel's described primitive Christianity. He is almost

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(١٢١) V p 57, In front of Yemeni Ulemas in San'a, 25.4.54. Popular meeting in Aswan on the occasion of the 3rd Anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63; V p. 414, In front Yemeni delegation in the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63.

(١٢٢) V, Arab Unity Day, 22.2.62; Charter p. 88, 355-6, 13th anniversary of the Revolution, 22.7.75; V p. 494, Declaration to the Iraqi press Delegation in Cairo 20.2.66; III p. 657-3 Port Said Victory Day, 23.12.61; V p. 167. ASU parliamentary group, 25.2.65.

utopian because he can be asked whether this society really existed or could exist. But, after all, an apologetic ideologist is not a historian.

More than ten times, Nasser said the following epigram: "Islam is the law of Justice, the law of justice is the law of God [(123)].

Here, Nasser comes directly to the substance of things. The essence of Islam is Justice and the essence of law is Justice. Then Justice is Divine. Every measure implementing social justice then becomes equal to a Divine law.

Social justice is the natural and Divine relation between rich and poor, those who have and those who have not. All religions, not only Islam, called for social justice. All of them, like Islam, institutionalized the Zakat, sharing one's wealth. Abu Bakr even made war against those who refused to share their wealth with the poor. Sharing one's wealth is equal to Islam. The Zakat aimed at establishing social Justice and at dissolving class distinctions, even through violence. It is 2.5 per cent of individual wealth every year. If man lives and works between 40-50 years, that will create a big fortune used for the benefit of the community. In Islam, there are no poor and handicapped because of this social solidarity [(124)].

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(١٢٣) V p. 533, ASU celebrating Suez National Day, 22.3.66; V p. 606, Military officers inaugurating their club in Hilmiya, 24.7.62; V p. 217, Alexandria Stadium, in the 10 th anniversary of the revolution, 26.7.62; V p. 109, Military academy training day, 25.6.62; V p. 271, 6th Victory anniversary, 23.12.62; V p. 312, Popular meeting in Aswan, 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63.

(١٢٤) V p. 166, ASU, Parliamentary group, 25.2.65; III p. 461-2 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.6 1; V p. 312, 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63

Islam gave the highest example of social practice, Nasser continued. The prophet himself lived poor and died poor. The poet Ahmed Shawki described him as the Imam of Socialists. He owned nothing. He even died indebted to a Jew. He shared his daily bread with others. He took the rights of the poor from the rich. Afterwards, the Islamic socialist State continued during the period of Abu Baker and Omar. Omar nationalized land and distributed it to the peasants (125).

If social justice is defined as sufficiency, sufficiency in Islam is based not on material grounds but on spiritual, religious and moral ones (126). Islamic socialism according to Nasser is an ethical rather than economic system. It came out of people's traditions and spiritual heritage.

Islamic ethics is that of work, which is equal to socialist ethics. That is why Islam prohibited usury, because usury is against work as a value. Money does not generate money by itself but only through work. That means through effort and sweat. The Revolution followed the same type of ethics. It put an end to usury in agricultural loans and gave loans to peasants without usury (127).

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(١٢٥) III p. 461, In the 9th Anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61; V p. 414, in the Yemeni delegation for the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 494, Declaration to the Iraqi press delegation, 20.2.66; V p. 533, In the ASU convention celebrating Suez National Day, 22.3.66; V p. 563, Interview with Karangiya, 8.5.65; III p. 461, 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61; III p., 607, National convention preparatory committee, 27.11,61; II p. 621-2 4th session, 29.11.61.

(١٢٦) V p. 92, National convention preparatory committee. 7th session, 30.5.61; V p. 305, 13 th anniversary of the revolution 22.7.65.

(١٢٧) V p. 414. In front of the Yemeni delegation, 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. ASU parliamentary group, 28.2.65.

If religion is work, the prophet worked himself, so religion never became business. Unfortunately, the clergy made from religion a business. They worked for whoever paid more. They worked for feudalists and issued legal opinions for their benefit. They worked for capitalists and issued other legal opinions defending private ownership and free economy and prohibiting nationalization. Although Nasser himself used the clergy and paid them, apparently he was despising them, those who sell their legal opinions for those who fill their stomachs as if they were a goose (128).

Nasser, in order to justify his transitional socialism, comes once again to one of his early remarks about graduation in Islamic law (129). The famous example is the graduation in the prohibition of wine. God declared first that wine is harmful as well as useful, but more harmful than useful. Then, wine was prohibited only during prayer time because of drunkenness. Then, finally wine was absolutely prohibited in all times and in all occasions.

When Nasser wanted to make distinctions between his socialism and Marxism-Leninism, he went to religious dogma. Nasser's socialism believes in God, while Marxism-Leninism denies Him. The first affirms religion, while the second denies it. That major difference will be used later on, not for simple distinctions, but for discrediting Marxism and all leftist progressive ideologies (130).

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(١٢٨) III p, 461, 9th anniversary, of the revolution, 22.7.61;

(١٢٩) II p. , Interview with Lebanese Magazine Koll Shay' 13.5.62.

(١٣٠) V, National convention of popular forces commenting the "Charter", 2.62; V p. 82, Declaration to the National Assembly Opening session, 12.11.64; V p 166, Meeting with ASU parliamentary group, 22.2.65.

2. Islam and Reaction

In “Islam and Socialism", Nasser had defended himself, but this time in “Islam and Reaction," Nasser counter-attacked by denouncing the reactionary camp. According to Nasser, religion was used by Arab reaction to dupe the people. The main purpose is to keep people in ignorance in order to usurp their wealth easily. They interpret religion falsely, with complete awareness of their falsehood. Yemeni and Saudi reaction usurped people's wealth. They wanted to cover up their usurpation by making religious camouflage. They exploited their people and accumulated money. Surely their accumulation of wealth did not come from work, the Islamic value, but from exploitation, which Islam prohibits. Islam is against accumulating money or spending it on women slaves. Under the pretext of defending Islam, they defend their own interests. In Islam, people's wealth is for the people not for the kings [131].

Nasser attacked traditional religious values like patience and reinterpreted other “disvalues" as values, like atheism. Arab reactionaries asked poor people to be patient, but patience will not endure forever. People can be patient for one year but not for two, for five years but not for ten. Patience is not an Islamic value, if it

(١٣١) V p. 419, In the Yemeni delegation, celebration of 11th anniversary of the Revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 494, Declaration to the Iraqi press delegation in Cairo, 20.7.66; In the popular meeting in Aswan on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of High-Dam construction, 9.1.63; IV p.331, Popular meeting in the 5th anniversary the Union, 21.2.63.

means the acceptance of usurpation. On the other hand, atheism is not social equity, because belief in One God requires that all humans are equal in front of Him. But atheism is social inequity. That means the denial that all humans are equals in front of God. Atheism is usurpation, exploitation, class distinctions, capitalism, feudalism and imperialist alliance. Atheism is the system of women slaves and illegal polygamy [132].

Afterwards, Nasser attacked the heart of Arab reaction's concept of social justice. He defended himself against the accusation that he had substituted socialism for Islam, and that he had made himself a prophet, as Radio Mecca propagated. Nasser was only a leader unveiling the pseudo-socio-religious practices of the “Prince of believers." Arab reactionaries wanted to leave the problem of social justice to be solved in the hereafter by the help of God. Social justice cannot be left to God as Raido Mecca wanted. Should the Muslims abolish the ministry of justice and leave the strong dominating the weak? Why should Paradise be promised for the poor in the hereafter and not in this world? The rich can have their share in Paradise and leave their wealth to the poor in this world. Here Nasser is more like a dialectician. He is making argumentation ad hominem as Arab reactionaries made to him.

Nasser introduced another level of criticism, which is the difference between words and actions. A Yemeni Imam was pleased with Shawki poems describing the prophet as the socialist leader but he did not want socialism to be applied in his

(١٣٢) V p, 534 and p. 544, ASU celebrating Suez national day 22.3.88; V p. 66. Arab Unity anniversary, 22.2,67, 10th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.62.

country. Admiration is at the level of words and repugnance at the level of realities (133).

Nasser also rejected the charitable socialism offered by Arab reactionaries. Charity is not enough for social justice, as Radio Mecca wanted. The wealth is God's wealth. That means the people's wealth. The people have the right to have their money back, what was secretly deposited in Swiss banks. The People's money has to be invested inside the country, not outside.

Nasser restored the true meaning of socialism, against its deformation by Arab reactionaries. Socialism does not mean sharing women, sons and daughters, as Radio Mecca pretends in order to frighten the people. Socialism respects family law. Socialism means only sharing one's wealth, social justice and people's wealth in the service of the people. All are Islamic Imperatives.

Nasser attacked Saoud personally, pushing the argument and hominem to the maximum. Saoud considers himself the ka'aba protector, although he does not represent Islam. On the contrary, he is profaning the ka'aba. God protects the Ka'aba and not Saoud. The royal family in Saudi Arabia is an insult to Islam. He is bad representative of Islam in foreign press. The image of Islam the West: slavery, harems, corruption, exuberance, sex. All come from Saudi Arabia (134).

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(١٣٣) II p. 621, National convention popular forces, 29.11.61; Vp. 27. Interview to Lebanese magazine Koll Shay', 13.5.62; III p. 652, Port Said, Victory day, 23.12.61; V p. 271, 6th victory anniversary; V p. 331, Popular Meeting celebrating the 5th anniversary of the Union, 21.2.63; Arab Unity Day 22.2.62.

(١٣٤) V p. 271, 6th Victory, 23.12.62; V p. 312 and p. 318, Popular meeting in 3rd anniversary of the Dam construction, 9.1.63.

Nasser used no textual arguments. He used only rational evidence, experience evidence, and mass evidence. He can win his battle against Arab reactionaries very easily. His arguments were of content, not of form. His vision of Islam, although dialectical (from dialogue), is also a vision of content, not of form.

In addition to Nasser himself, all the State machinery came to help in redefining socialist Islam. The Islamic Research Council approved limits of ownership in Islam and gave the head of the State the right of nationalization once private ownership goes against the common interests of the community. Islam prohibits absolute ownership and confiscates the wealth of the idiots and all those who misuse their wealth. Islam prohibits landholding without investment. Islam also prohibits the accumulation of big land ownership in a few hands, leaving the majority of the people landless. Otherwise, wealth will be stored in a few hands, with dangers of monopoly and exploitation. The council issued a legal opinion giving political authority the right to interfere in ownership if it damages common interest. The wealth of the unjust or the suspicious wealth has to be given back to the real owner, otherwise it will be confiscated by the State. Political authority has the right to impose taxation for the common benefit [135].

Likewise, all writers followed Nasser in his religious justifications of Arab socialism, defending him and counter-attacking his opponents. Several apologetic books were written after 1962 about “Islam and socialism" [136]. Almost in every

(١٣٥) Al-Ahram, 10.3.64; Ibid, 6.6.64.

(١٣٦) Al-Douri, Socialist Method in the Light of Islam, Khanki, 1963; Farag: Islam, Religion of Socialism, Al-Dar Al-Kawmiya, 1961; Abd Al-Majid Said, =

book on socialism, there was a chapter on Islamic socialism or the basis socialism in the Islamic and spiritual heritage [137]. Religious leaders entered the battle, as well as Academicians and journalists, and wrote about Islam and Marxism [138].

Many of them are professors in Al-Azhar, members in the High Council of Islamic Research, or members of the Ulamas High Council. Most of the monthly Reviews by the ministry of culture or ministry of endowments published many articles on Islam and socialism [139].

= Islam and Intellectual Origins of Arab Socialism, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1962; Ahmed Al-Sharkawi, Socialist Principles in Islam, al Dar Al-Kawmiya; Al-Hamshari, With Religion for Socialism, Islamic series No.2 68, 1967.

(١٣٧) N.H. Sa'dawi, Arab Socialism and Socialist Revolution, 2nd Chapter, Islamic Socialism, p. 21-39; Y. Heweidi, Philosophy in the Charter, p. 119-30, Abd al-Rahman Noseir. Social Justice, Religion and Ethics p. 12-5.

(١٣٨) M. Arafa (member of Ulamas High Council), Islam or Communism 2. Dar al-Kitab Al-'Arabi; A. Al-Sharabasi (professor in Al-Azhar), Religion and the Charter, Al-Dar Al-Kawmiya, 1965; M. Al-Raf'ie, Islam is a Human System, High Council of Islamic Affairs, Islam Preaching Committee.

(١٣٩) F. Zakaria, Socialism and Spiritual Values, Al-Fikr el Mu'asir No. 2.56, October 1969; T. Al-Bishri, Al-Azhar between the palace and national movement, al-Katib; A.A. Salih, Right and Left in Islam , Al-Katib; F. Mansour, Islamic Interpretation to Islam, No social classes in Islam, Al-Tali'a; M.A. Khaalafallah, Democracy in Islamic law, Al-Tali'a; M. Al Madani, Islamic Socialism, Al-Azhar Review, November 1961; al-Sherabasi, Taxation in Islam, Ibid, December 1962, January 1963; Islam: Religion of Equity, Liwa' Al-Islam, November 1962; A. Al Rafa'i, Islamic Socialism, Nur Al-Islam, December 1962; January, 1963; A.S. Al-Masri, Islamic Economics, Manbar Al-Islam, December 1963; U.K. Al-Tantawi, Socialism is Islam, ibid, December 1963; M.A. Abu-Rayan, Islam and the Socialist System, Ibid, December 1963; A. Al-Nimr, Between Arab Socialism and Islamic=

Even the Mass-media, Radio and Television entered the battle and broadcasted many Programs on the same subject [(140)]. Nasser led the battle and writers followed. None of them had entered the battle before. Nasser died and Sadat came. The same writers participated in the process of Denasserization. They have always followed the present political authority. Employees of the State, frightened by the possible loss of their daily bread, were ready to justify whatever they were asked to do. A religious vanguard had not yet appeared.

3. Islam and Hypocrisy

If Nasser had used religion against outside attacks, namely from Arab reactionaries, Sadat also used religion against his political opponents from inside namely, Nasseristes, Marxists and all progressives and socialists. In the case of Nasser, Arab reactionaries began to use religion as a weapon against Nasser, and Nasser was obliged to use the same weapon to counter attack. In the case of Sadat, he himself began to use religion against his opponents, alhough his opponents never used this religious weapon against him. He began the religious attack as a counter political attack. Being unable to enter political dialogue with his opponents, he just attacked them even without them attacking him. He made the attack and the counter attack, especially after the January 1977 riots and the shakeing of his regime.

= Socialism, Ibid 2; Al-Bahay Al-Khuli, Islam and Social Solidarity, Ibid, June 1962; A. K. Abu Al-Magd, Human Meaning in Islam, Ibid, June 1962; M. Ghalab, Islam and Principles of Social Organization, Ibid, December 1962; M.A. Al-Gindi, The Relation Between Work and Faith in Islam, ibid, November 1974.

(١٤٠) Symposium on Islam, Religion of Socialism.

Sadat in his speeches used religion for two aims: first to propagate his traditional religious values (faith, patience, love) which have no direct relation to income distribution like equity and justice, but an indirect relation, as motives for the acceptance of the status quo; second, his attack on atheists, having in mind his political opponents. He usually ended his speeches by scriptural arguments to show modesty, possibility of error, request for more Divine guidance to please the masses and to play the religious game. This is hypocrisy. Academicians headed by the former rector of Cairo University and the incumbent Speaker of the People's Assembly were asked to make their constant game of justification, which they did in two documents: "Democratic Socialism" by the University High Council (The Green Book, July 1977) and "Our Democratic Socialism", on the ideology of the May 15 revolution (one year later in July 1978). Both documents tried to advance the theory of the Balance (Tawazun), which is the ideology of the new center party, the National Democratic party, the heir of the dead Misr party, which had been held responsible for incapacity during the January 1977 riots.

The New regime defended traditional values for two reasons: first they help in defending the status quo and strengthening social stability; second, they serve the new class as a cover up. Conservatism became a camouflage for quick upward social mobility for certain groups.

After 1970 the famous Nasserist theme, “Islam and Socialism,” took another turn. Islamic Socialism was conceived

in opposition to socialism. The rights of the poor are to be taken from the rich with love and in a nice and decent way, not by hatred and through violence. Islamic law gave the head of the State the right to take money surplus from the rich without hatred or envy as under Nasser! [141].

Sadat tried to find a link, at least a verbal one, between what he wanted to do and has not been done till now, namely new tax laws, and Islam in a Nasserist tradition of Islam and socialism, but he did not succeed. Nobody was convinced because of lack of sincerity and truthfulness by the speaker, the writer or the reader. The new tax laws, for Sadat, realize social justice desired by God. Wealth is owned by God. Man has it only as a deposit. The famous theory of Istikhlaf is used to justify the rights of the poor to the wealth of the rich. Nasser had already said “People's wealth is for the people.” But Sadat needed a religious cover up, camouflage over the gap between what is declared and what is practiced. "Democratic Socialism" evoked the same common legal opinion that Islam permits ownership limitations for common benefit by the intervention of the State. All Muslim Jurists agreed on Istikhlaf, which means in modern terms that ownership is a social function [142]. The Islamic system is based on principles of security and solidarity between all men. Solidarity even exists between animals. Tanta Univers overbids and mentions scriptural arguments from the sayings of the prophet!

(١٤١) To Ismailiya citizens in Shifa’ Mosque, February 1976, p. 18.

(١٤٢) “Democratic Socialism", Universities High Council, p. 35. p. 43-44.

The poor then have rights to the wealth of the rich. Ethics of work as a value under Nasser became ethics of class under Sadat. Although work is a holy right and is proportional to work, work is not the only source of income. Wealth can come from work but work is not the only source of wealth [143].

Patriarchal ethics appeared, showing the dictatorial aspect of the regime, like the respect due to the family father, and the head of the big Egyptian family, the teacher of the college. All of them represent this patriarchal image to whom every one owes respect. The best film is the one where the son returns back to his parents, asking forgiveness, the worst one is about social criticism.

All Sadat's religious slogans were not social: faith, patience, predestination, resignation, guidance. All of them showed no social relations, but only individual ones. None of them described social relations between man and man, but all of them showed individual relations between man and God. The horizontal is reversed to the vertical as in all conservative and mystical ideologies. Compared to Nasser's socialism where "Law of Justice is the Law of God," there was no mention of Law of Justice, and Law became absolutely formal. It is true that this introvert interpretation of religion began to appear under Nasser after the defeat of 1967, but only as a temporary mood, as in every culture in moments of defeat, internal or external. For

(١٤٣) V p. 82-3, Message to the People's Assembly, 4.2.75. introvert, not extrovert. Hypocrisy resides in the fact that this substantive religious vision serves to support Sadat's regime which is a historical accident.

example, mysticism in Islam and messianism in Judaism. Sadat took the accidental moment and made it substantial, as if religion per se is Even when Sadat mentions the same social values in Islam, like Zakat as an obligation to realize social solidarity and for village development, he means the religious imperative rather than the social aspect [144].

Many socialist ideas stayed on the level of verbal repetition, rather than on the level of application, whether in Sadat's speeches or in the two documents on "Democratic Socialism". It was easy to overbid on Nasser's socialism. The poor have a right to the wealth of the rich because it will not go beyond the level of words. Realities follow another course, that of open door policy and free economy. If the distance between slogans and realities during Nasser's time was visible, it becomes pure hypocrisy and complete dissociation between words and realities under Sadat. Social justice is not only a theoretical study supported by scriptural arguments in Islam, which became platitudes, but requires us to measure the distance between that high ideal and actual realities of a given society [145].

Under Sadat, scriptural arguments are more used in religious justifications than under Nasser. They serve to fill the gap of socio-political analysis. Statistical data is absent in order not to unveil the maldistribution of wealth. Scriptural arguments are directed to religious feelings, while socio-political analysis

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(١٤٤) V p. 82-8134, Message to the People's Assembly, 4.2.75.

(١٤٥) Our Democratic Socialism, July 88 p. 28-32.

based on statistical data is directed to reason. The relation between religious feeling and reason is similar to the relation between hypocrisy and truthfulness.

After 1970 the distinction between socialism, which is no more Arab or scientific, as Nasser had described it. Marxism became the cornerstone in Sadat's regime. Marxism rejects religion in spite of its pretention that this early Marxist position had changed. According to Sadat, nothing official came out yet confirming that change, as if changing ideas needs a Presidential decree [(146)]. Kaddafi agents in Egypt, according to Sadat, are Marxist atheists. Nasserits are also Marxist atheists. The opposition party, "Unionist Progressive National Front" is under the control of Marxist atheists! For Sadat, the people will not accept atheistic corrupted ideas because the people is a believing one. Democracy is atheism, and those who ask for democracy are also atheists. Under the law, atheism became a crime, and punishment was carried out without any evidence except witnesses.

Once atheism is used as a political weapon by political authority against political and religious opposition, it is then used in reaction by religious opposition against political authority and the political system as a whole. The group of "Shukri Mostapha" called "Gama'a at al-Takfir wa al-Higra" used the religious weapon against political regimes and the former minister of religious endowments paid his life for it [(147)].

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(١٤٦) To the Nation, 3.2.77, p. 10, To the people's Assembly, 9.11.77, p.15, In the ASM, 3.76, p. 79, Interview with the Kuwaiti Newspaper Al-Seyasa 8.9.75, p. 20, In the closing session of the People's Assembly, 14.3.76, p. 44; Democratic Socialism, 7.77 p. 104.

(١٤٧) Interview to Kuwaiti Newspaper al-Seyasa, 8.9.75, p. 29-30.

In the paper called “Democratic Socialism," presented by the Universities High Council, religion became its principal foundation [148]. Each university competed with the other in expressing its religious zeal to please political authority. Although a university does not form a homogeneous opinion, the administration, which is a political appointee of the State, chose what the political authority wanted. No wonder that the former president of Cairo University, the Chief of the Universities High Council, and the Head of the Program Committee in the old Misr party, converted to the new National Democratic party, was chosen as the Speaker of the people's Assembly!

Religion is the guide for each person because it gives him the distinction between legal and illegal, as if man cannot be an ethical man without being religious. Sadat insisted on dialogue and persuasion against the revolutionary vanguard, which had tried to impose the socialist revolution on the people under Nasser. All the values he advocated were of the same passive type: obedience, resignation, acceptance, predestination … etc., which make the masses receptive for anything which comes from above. Religious authority comes first and political authority second.

In the second paper on "Our Democratic Socialism," the ideology of the May 15, 1971 revolution, religion became the major source of the ideology and the main foundation of the regime. The idea of balance (Tawazun) between individual and

(١٤٨) Democratic Socialism, Universities High Council, July 1977, Tanta University Review p. 100.

social interest was the major idea of the new ideology-- balance between the material and the spiritual, between this world and the other world, and between science and faith. Faith is the vehicle of this balance. The idea of balance is the opposite of the idea of social transformation and class struggle. A balance can be achieved between these two elements once there is equal weight for both. That will never happen except in utopian societies. In actual societies, there is always an imbalance, especially between mass interests. To realize the balance in a society with a poor majority is to limit the wealth of the rich minority. To keep the balance in a society tending towards the hereafter is to give a new value system based on the priority of this world and opposite to any mystical passive value system like Sadat's. The ideology of balance is aiming essentially at keeping the status quo in the name of religion. Even if a dozen scriptural arguments are used to justify the ideas of "balance and center" they all serve as a cover-up to the actual maldistribution of wealth. Any effort for social justice and equity is described as anti-religious [149].

“Science and Faith" became an epigram, a label of the regime. In the people’s mind, science is a Western concept, which opens the door to Western technology. Technology import goes parallel to luxury goods import and to open-door policy mentality. Faith is a traditional value, absolutely acceptable by the masses, which is receptive in structure and makes the people accept whatever is given to them from the West or from political

(١٤٩) Our Democratic Socialism, July, 2p. 21-7.

authority. God serves here as a back door from which Westernization and dictatorship enter. Faith, traditionally understood, will not help the people to move, to protest or to oppose. That is why any political opposition was easily accused of lack of faith, atheism and being agents of the Soviet Union, namely of the Eastwind. Faith is defined as the acceptance of Divine Will. That means the impossibility of opposition. Whereas the Nasserist concept of will to change may be the real content of faith without religious hypocrisy [150].

Religious hypocrisy and religious zeal have not prevented serious clashes between the Muslim majority and the Christian minority. The history of Egypt is known for national unity between the two major religious communities. The famous example is that the revolution of 1919. Religious misuse begins when the political regime is in its weakest moments.

Religious fanaticism, like soccer fanaticism, is a compensation for the absence of political activism. Religious sectarianism is a compensation for the absence of political parties in an underdeveloped country or in a backward society. Religious apparitions and miracles deflect people's attention from the political authority. Even thinking in religion is a mystification of social crisis. The last call for the application of Islamic law comes also from religious hypocrisy. Islamic law meant hand-chopping of the poor thieves but not of the big ones, wine prohibition for the citizens but not for Arab tourists, Islamic dress and rituals but

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(١٥٠) National Charter p. 10, p. 124.

in the same time night clubs and tax exemption for the encouragement of tourism. The application of Islamic law became a “hanger-on,” upon which all the social crimes are hanged.

Religious hypocrisy became a general phenomenon in social life. Government's official letters had to put “in the name of God" on the top, with Higra calender's use on official publications of Sadat's speeches, prayer time in the Mass media, prayer places in all government buildings, links with Saudi Arabia in Feast's calender, extra religious programmes and pages in the Mass-media, millions of copies of the Qur'an on desks, cars, windows, tables or gift copies, President's prayer broadcasting, chaplets holding, mosque's building and above all the title of “The believing President".

IV - Conclusion

This survey on the genesis of the 23rd of July 1952 revolution system of ideas is based essentially on Nasser's speeches as a charismatic leader, the main center of power and decisions maker, showed how ideas came out of socio-political realities. Ideas, even if the power elite did not recognize the existence of such things, were treated as independent entities existing per se regardless of their material vehicles and historical circumstances. History gives only the accident, but the idea is still the substance. However, ideas are in dialectical relations with situations. They came out of it as a source and they return back to it, to direct and to function. Sociology of knowledge helped in determining relations, where the classical distinction

between superstructure and infrastructure did not exist anymore. Moreover, external influences on the power elite were eliminated. Phenomena are built from within, not from with out.

Method of influence and of infiltration belongs to Orientalism aiming at evaporating phenomena and emptying them from their internal and autonomous contents. Socio-political phenomena originate creatively and are not transplanted mechanically. However, realities are always ready to be expressed in language. Technical vocabulary can pass easily from one culture to another. Even illustration of ideas, models of explanations or of practices can serve in the subconsciousness as points of reference especially if the world's major political systems live in dialogue. Finally, the background of the free officers, secular or religious was not analysed in order not to fall in the genetic fallacy, namely the psychogenetic determinism. The ideological background of the free officers was a part of the socio-political situation in Egypt before 1952. The three major trends in the free officers, Islamic, Marxist and Nationalist were in fact the same three trends in intellectual life in Egypt since the beginning of this century. To conclude, four results can be observed:

1. Secularism and Islam

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 was a secular revolution, carrying out secular evolutionary ideas via the famous six principles. Islam surely was a constituent element of the people's culture, but a latent one. Such Western judgment based on the distinction between secular and religious is made only for the

sake of research, using the technical vocabulary of Western disciplines. In fact, this distinction does not exist in Islam per se, nor in Islamic life. The famous six principles, although exempt from Islam as word, are Islamic in content. Islam is a secular religion, a religion without ecclesiastic authority, which is the meaning of secularism in the West. Even more, Islam is a religion without dogma and mystery, without rituals. Islam is identical to Reason and good deed. Monotheism is nothing else except a principle (Metaphysical, Ontological, and Axiological) manifested in doing good. Concepts of social justice and equity are Islamic concepts, not only as content but also as words. Justice is a Divine Name. The secular concepts and Ideologies are indeed Islamic concepts and Ideologies. Because Islamic culture now is under the influence of the West, these two keywords, secular and religious, appear to be operative. In Islamic classical culture, these terms like Justice, Freedom, Will, Nature, and Reason, were highly religious terms. But after the decline of Islamic culture, these terms disappeared and traditional terms reappeared again. Now any reappearance of the so-called secular concepts is judged as to whether it may be anti-religious or under Western influence. In fact, these concepts are neither secular nor coming from Western influence, rather they are purely Islamic. Islam means the emergence of ideas from within social, economic and political situations. Islamic Revolution came to respond to such situations. Islam is not a priori to social facts but a posteriori to them. This is what is called Tanzil. Even more, Islamic Revelation adapted itself

several times according social circumstances and human capacities. This is called Naskh. The secular concepts of social justice and Ideologies of socialism are indeed Religious in the Islamic sense, as content and reality, not as word and scriptures.

2. Religion as Defensive Mechanism

What was described previously as religious justification has nothing to do really with religion as such. Religion was used to defend political regimes and to attack other political regimes. Religion was used as a political weapon because the masses are religious. If the masses, which every political regime wanted to dominate, were irreligious, then religion would not have been used. The two opposite regimes both were hypocritical because they did not believe in religion per se, but they used it only to defend their own interests. Once we know that political regimes were both dictatorial regimes, one feudalist dictatorship and the other socialist dictatorship, we see how religion was used to defend every political authority in every regime. Faisal was defending his own throne, regardless of the political regime he represented, and Nasser also defended his power, regardless of the regime he represented. Saoud and afterwards Faisal in Saudia Arabia and Yahia in Yemen defended their wealth, the usurped wealth of the people. Nasser defended his power, also the power taken from the people. The people in both cases are the victim. Political regimes naturally differ. If they compete for hegemony and for unified leadership, competition becomes power struggle. As in any battle, all sharp and heavy weapons are used. In underdeveloped societies, religion plays the role of political

ideology. Here appears the link in the power struggle between religion and political regimes. It is not even a conflict of interpretation between conservative and progressive interpretations, but it is a conflict of conservative and progressive political regimes. Religion, like art, philosophy and all superstructures, reflect the socio-political situations, namely ideas, values, concepts, and worldviews. All are stigmatized in religion. In societies, religion serves as a pillar of stability. Society, or more precisely the elite ruling class, retracts behind it and takes it as a shield. The final word in the conflict of opposite political regimes is not for true interpretation of religion. That does not exist, since religion is society, since religion is for use. The final word is for power, at least for a moment. When the people become educated and conscious of their interests, when the majority transforms its quantity to quality, then appears the progressive version of religion. There is no theoretical truth in religion, but a defensive mechanism, a self protection from outside danger. If it comes from Marxism, Islam becomes anti-Marxist. If it comes from feudalism, Islam becomes anti-feudalist. Nasser used religion at the same time against Kassem of Iraq in 1959 to attack Marxism in the name of Islam and against Saoud and then Faisal to attack feudalism in the name of Islam. Religion as a defensive mechanism appears in all the battles Nasser entered. Nasser from 1952-54 wanted popular support for his coup d'etat. He went to the Ulamas and showed them how in all the history of Egypt, Ulamas and officers worked together, hand in hand. Islam appeared as a religion of liberation and revolution. Two years later, during the quarrel

between Nasser and the Muslim Brothers in 1954-56, Islam appeared as a religion of tolerance, not of violence. After the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the Egyptianization of foreign companies in 1957, religion disappeared because of the unanimous popular support for these two national decisions. But again religion played a role during Arab Unity and National Unity in 1958-60.

Religion was a unifying factor between Muslims and Christians during the Crusades, facing the dangers of Arab reaction and Imperialist plots against the new United Arab Republic. The major battle where religion appeared as a defensive mechanism was that of Islam and socialism in 1961-64. Facing a new danger of the Islamic Pact in 1965, religion was used to discredit the pact, as imperialism allied with Arab reaction and disguised in religion. Religion was not used against Israel, not only because the problem is political, but because religion was an internal game inside Egypt, like Nasser and the Muslim Brothers, or an inter-Arab game, like Nasser and Faisal in the power struggle adressing the ignorant Masses. The Arab-Israeli conflict was not of that order.

3. Religion and Class Struggle

It is strange to observe that religion was used by Nasser in his power struggle with Arab reactionary regimes and never inside Egypt to have a popular and Mass support for his socialism, against the early political parties and feudalist opposition. Nasser did not feel the necessity to use such a

weapon because there was no real danger from the feudalist class, the society of half per cent. The class was hit by the first land reform laws. The individual and sporadic feudalist opposition was presented to the "people's tribunal". Moreover, in Egypt there was no class struggle in its strict sense. More precisely, there was no class consciousness. The power elite had the power. Every member was more or less an independent center of power. The masses had no power and they did not express themselves in any organ defending their own interests. They were not represented in any institution, beyond what the power elite permitted. The middle class supported the new power elite and the State institutions worked for them. Public officials, administrators, technocrats, bureaucrats, officers, Academicians and above all religious leaders, all worked for the power elite by the fact that they were all employees of the State. Nobody represented Mass interests or opposed middle and upper class interests. Even Marxist opposition under Nasser was an ideological opposition from individuals belonging to the middle class, rather than an opposition for mass interests. Nobody tried to crystallize the class consciousness of poor classes and defend their interests. Class struggle was neutralized under Nasser, not because Egyptian Society is that of love and brotherhood, or because the ASU represented the people's working forces alliance, or because there was 50 per cent workers and peasants in the People's Assembly, but because there was no class consciousness for poor classes. A sporadic and volatile one appeared infrequently in students and workers demonstrations.

Efficient Religious leaders belonged to the middle class and were, as every, one else, working for the power elite. They gave an Islamic version, the power elite wanted, that of obedience to authority. They propagated dogmatic and ritualistic Islam, even with this long professional literature on Islam and socialism. Religious interpretation became a monopoly as political discourse. No religious leader appeared to crystallize mass consciousness and to defend their interests. Religious leaders on the top of religious institutions or at the bottom in the mosques, all are employees executing the written order of the power elite. The first are afraid to lose money and power, the second are frightened of firing and exile. The disbelief in political speech and in religious discourse is one. Both are mystifications of social realities. Neither the religious left, political Islam, nor young religious leaders adopting the social teaching of Islam had yet appeared on the scene.

4. Islam and Revolution

Answering the primary question of the Religious Factor and Income Distribution, not as a historical survey of Egyptian revolution from 1952-79, nor as analytical discourse of religious justifications of political regimes in the present, but in a prospective vision of the future, the subject of "Islam and Revolution" emerges. Till now, religion was used only as a "call girl" for whoever pays more. Religious prostitution is different from religious revolution. Every religion, from the early prophets till the last ones, was a social reform. It came to change social

conditions of the people. Religion, in modern terms, was a social, political and economic revolution. Sometimes the revolution is externalized, sometimes it is internalized. Sometimes it is in society and other times in the individual. Islam came to confirm this religious function as its very essence. Religion came for the poor classes against the rich classes and for the dominated majority against the dominating minority.

Religion is not dogma, nor rituals, but social revolution. Religion is liberation against domination, freedom against despotism, democracy against dictatorship, socialism against capitalism, equity against inequity and social justice against all forms of social injustices. Religion is a revolution in the strict sense of the word, as it is understood in this century, the century of decolonization. Revolutions in the Third World, in Africa. Asia and Latin America, were either Nationalist or Marxist. Nationalist revolutions after independence ended in middle class regimes collaborating with a new Imperialism. Marxist revolutions are still struggling for popular support and still fear any "coup d'Etat" against the revolutionary vanguard. The Masses in the three continents are still religious. Religion is still used by the ruling classes, cooperating with Western Imperialism against mass interests. The Masses do not understand Marxism either. They are illiterate. Here emerges Camillo Torres and the revolutionary priests in Latin America, to declare that revolution is a Divine Imperative. Here also, comes the religious left in Western churches. In Latin America, Theology of Liberation took over classical Theology of Essence and Attributes. The social teaching

of Christianity appeared- Roman Catholicism in Latin America, Protestantism during the peasant war led by Thomas Muntzer in 16th Century Germany, Primitive Christianity, Buddhism in Vietnam during the Independance War, Confucius in China in the beginning of the Chineese revolution and later on after the Cultural revolution, Cargo cult and primitive religions in Africa, Black Nation in America, Islam in Algeria during independence war and finally the triumphant revolution in Iran in the name of Islam and Revolution- all these examples are only signs on the road. It is up to Egypt to follow the path or to stay in its eternal stagnation and indifference.

RELIGION AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT (*).

I - Introduction

Religion in Egypt has always been identitical to its history. The Ancient Pharaohs till the modern ones, religion was at the center of Egyptian life. The Pharaoh was Divine. The priests were a powerful class, dictating its laws and traditions to the State. The people obeyed the laws of the State as Divine. They built the Pyramids, expressing their religious zeal. Nature was Divine. The Sun, the Nile, domestical Animals-- a11 were gods. Science and Art had religious functions. Political and social stability or instability had religious bases, so these things have not changed throughout history.

In modern Egypt, a relational model between power elite and religious elite emerged. Muhamad Ali first deposed of the Ulema who opposed him, establishing the State to appoint or depose religious leaders and to smash all religious opposition. Second, he asked the Ulema to approve his program by issuing Fatawi (legal opinions) and to legitimate political decisions of the State using religion. Third, he replaced the religious power elite with a military power elite, subjugating the first to be a mere servant of the second and instinctualizing “Religion in the service of the State.”

Religion here is confined to the power elite’s perception of it, and how it has been used to implement social and political

(*) Project of Development in Egypt in the 20th century, Dakar, Senegal. 1978.

change, whether directly or through mass-media and institutions. Because the type of leadership in Egypt from 1952-77 still, on different levels, a Charismatic type, religious perception of the power elite was the real dynamic force in using religion as an agent of development. That is why the analysis of mass culture and religious "Facts " has been eliminated, because they are carriers and the recipients of religious perception of the Charisma. A descriptive method imposed itself, first showing major religious decisions, and secondly, the religious factor and its implications for development. The first is a static description, the second is a dynamic one. Because we are dealing with perceptions and mass consciousness, a phenomenological analysis is necessary to show religion as "intentionality" of the power elite. Religion is the noesis and development is the noema. In other words, religion is the subjective aspect of intentionality, and development is its objective one. In the twelve battles, the power elite used religion as agent of social and political change. A permanent structure appeared, featuring action and reaction, attacks and defense. Religion appeared to be a defensive mechanism against external and internal attacks on the regime. In short, a combined method of phenomenological and structural analysis is used to describe religion and its implication on development.

We need not define in advance "Religion" and "Development." However, religion is used in its large sense, including dogma, rituals, institutions, laws, and values. Development also is used in its large sense, including, economic, social, political, cultural and ethical development.

II - Religious Evolution in Modern Egypt

Religion and its implication for social and political life in modern Egypt goes far beyond 1952. Without going back to Mohammed Ali and the beginning of modern Egypt, it is enough to describe major religious trends directly before 1952.

A. Religious Trends before 1952

It is possible to describe major religious trends in Egypt before 1952. These trends are controlled by a triple structure, two opposites and one affirmation: first, conservatism or traditioalism represented by the religious establishment or by religious groups like the Muslim Brothers; second, secularism or liberalism, represented by the anti-religious establishment and groups including liberals, secularists, Marxists or Westerners in general; third, reformism or modernism on the fringes of the other two opposite trends. The Muslim Brothers represented the most powerful religious trend in the late 40s and the early 50s. Their radical Islamic ideology, not necessarily a leftist one, was essentially integrist. Islam was to be taken as a whole or to be left as a whole. Reality had to adjust itself to Islam, not Islam to reality. Its members were militants, recruited from all social classes and regrouped into cells. They were obedient to their superiors and formed a paramilitary secret organization. They were also fanatic, refusing any kind of dialogue with other groups and political Ideologies. They were anti-Marxist, associating Marxism with atheism and materialism, although not necessarily anti-socialist. Islam has its own vision of social justice and its own economy. On the other hand, they were anti-

imperialist. They participated in the Palestine war in 1948, and were the major force in the struggle against British occupation in the Suez Canal in 1951. They were also anti-monarchist, which costed them the assassination of their leader in 1949.

The religious establishment is a decaying and even corrupted form of conservatism. It has always been, even after 1952, the usual carrier of the official position of the political regime of the time. It has always been used against political opponents labeled as Heretics or Atheists! As employees of the State, religious top leaders were merely legitimators of political decisions of any regime. One gave a legal opinion that the king was descended from the prophet and therefore was entitled to be the Muslims' Caliph! Few of them resisted political pressures or opposed political directives. Those were banned or fired.

Secondly, Westerners represented two major trends, Marxism and Liberalism. Marxists considered religion according to the protracted vision traditionally reported from Marx as "Opium of the people". Religion is an aspect of backwardness, an agent of exploitation and contrary to science. Other Marxists considered religion as the "Sigh of the opressed", the forgotten other statement of Marx. They saw in it a possible factor of political and social change [1]. Some liberals viewed religion from a positivist view, as an unscientific means of knowledge or a historical phase in human history. Others were enlightened and understood religion on national bases. But all liberals had not

(1) The first group can be represented by Ibrahim Fathi and the second by Shuhdy Attiya, A.R. Sharkawi, and A. Enan.

used religion for political ends. They were intellectuals and academicians without social and political committments [(2)].

That has not prevented some of them from holding authentic religious faith. They refused all kinds of pressure from the political regime to gratify and to support. Even more, they did the opposite and made counter declarations disapproving political decisions. They were fired or eliminated.

Thirdly, Modernism that began more than one hundred years ago has stopped. It ended and turned back to traditionalism, for example with Rashid Reda, and to conservatism with Hassan Al Banna [(3)]. It ended also in liberalism and imitation of the West by Ali Abdel Razik and Khalid M. Khalid. Spontaneously, after 1952, the national development of modernism came to a halt. The "National Charter" of 1962 in the chapter entitled "The roots of Egyptian struggle" affirmed the role of Islamic expansion in preparing the Egyptian revolution and unveiling its capacities. Egypt, through Islam, had its revolutionary role and participated in the connection and protection of human culture. During the Ottoman Empire period, Egypt was weakened in the name of Islam. Then, the reformers like Mohammed Abdou appeared, proclaiming religious reform. Lutfi Al-Sayed also proclaimed "Egypt for Egyptians". Kassem Amin struggled for women’s liberation.

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(٢) Positivists like Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, Ali Abdel Wahid Wafi and Abdel Aziz Ezzat; rationalists like M. Kassem and 0. Amin.

(٣) Al-Banna wanted to continue "Al-Manar" Review of M. R. Reda, who died in 1935, and published two issues in 1936.

Later on, even Sadat's 'Democratic Socialism' found its roots in M. Abdou, Lutfy Al-Sayed, Ahmed Amin, Taha Hussein, and other figures from this glorious generation. [4].

B. Religious Background of the Free Officers

The religious background of the free offices reflected the bias or religious trends which had prevailed before the revolution of 1952. The revolution was only a coup d'Etat in political power. Major religious trends continued before 1952 and after, with more struggle. Every trend wanted to have a greater impact on the new regime.

The Muslim Brothers Islamic trend was represented by Kamal al-Din Hussein, Abd Al-Mun'im Abd Al-Ra'ouf, Rashad, Mehanna and Hussein Al-shaf'ie. Marxism was represented by Khalid Mohey Al-Din and Youssef Siddiq. The first combined Islam with Marxism because of his religious and even mystical affiliation through his family. The rest of the free officers were centered around Nasser, who gathered in himself many tendencies. He was at one time affiliated with the Muslim Brothers. He knew Hassan Al-Banna but he was not a member in his group. He was accused in the army of having contacts with Al-Banna, of working in their underground movement and training their commandos. He was also accused of violence and bombing. Nasser confessed that he knew the leader and that he had no objections of training their commandos for the liberation of

(٤) Charter, p. 26, Democratic Socialism, Tanta University Review, p. 100.

Palestine [5]. Nasser, indeed had strong relations with Al-Banna. He used to tell his colleagues about the discussions he had with him. He had contacts with other brothers after Al-Banna's death. These contacts do not make of Nasser a religious oriented free officer. Nasser contacted the brothers as a political initiative, rather than a religious one, just as he contacted other political groups. Nasser also later confessed that he had been influenced by the prophet Mohammed and by Jesus Christ. He meant only to be an ordinary religious man without a specific religious zeal [6]. At another time he had links with Marxist circles. At a third time he was a member in the "Young Egypt" party. This spontaneous progression is the continuation of his allegiance to modernism. Although unclear in the beginning, without a clear-cut ideology or without ideology at all, Nasser's religious background can be determind negatively: neither conservative like the Brothers, nor a radical secularist, Marxist or liberal.

C. Major Religious Decisions or Impact of Development on Religion

A historical survey of major religious decisions in Egypt from 1952-77 shows how religion was not spared from development, and how development was global including religion. It shows development and its impact on religion, more than religion and its impact on development. Most of these decisions are Presidential decisions, like the family laws and

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(٥) The Story of the Revolution. Published in a daily British Newspaper in July, 22, 1953, Vol. 1, p. 37-8.

(٦) Interview with Sulzberger, Chief-editor of New York Times in Feb. 26,29, Al-Ahram, March 3, 1960, Vol V1, P. 70-1.

development of Al-Azhar laws. Some are ministerial decisions after Presidential directives, like religious programs in the mass-media. Most of them were not issued after a heated battle, nor received any kind of opposition.

(a) Abolition of Religious Courts: In order to apply a unified code of laws, all religious courts were abolished in 1955, including those of religious minorities. All were absorbed into civil courts. Religious laws were limited to personal status. No opposition whatsoever arose from religious leaders. On the contrary, Sheikh Al-Azhar and other Sheikhs congratulated Nasser for having taken this "liberating step" towards the reform of the law system in Egypt. Islam did not propound a specific system of law among people, nor did Islam lay down any rules for defining relations between rulers and ruled, nor specifying what is allowed and what is not allowed. The base of Islamic law is moral not legal. Instead of law control comes moral consciousness [(7)]. The abolition of religious courts was done not in the name of religion but to spare all the harms caused by religious courts.

(b) Family Law Reform: The problem was not in religious courts but in family law. The law no. 628 was issued in 1955, containing new directions for family law. In case of differences of opinion, the Abu Hanifa school opinion is taken. Discussions on the family law are still going on. Political authority took its hand

(٧) N. Rejwan, Nasserist Ideology: Its Exponents and Critics, New York, J. Wiley & sons, 1974, p. 38; Bayyoumi II, p. 558 ff; Radwan, Ara'Horrah Fi Al-Din wa Al-Hayah, Cairo 1959, cited in Rejwan, op.cit.p.31.

out of it to give the impression of freedom and democracy. It left religious authority to have the upper hand in such a political subject. Family law is a personal law which has nothing to do with public life, social or political. Good or bad, progress or backwardness, are matters of tradition and has nothing to do with politics. Later on, during the discussions of the "National Charter" in 1962 and answering a question on equality between man and woman, specifically in inheritance, Nasser replied that he did not interfere in religious law. However, woman has to be equal to man in work, especially if she is in need. Equality does not mean that she has the right for polygamy because this is against religion. Polygamy according to Nasser should not be practiced by man through lies, but with complete frankness and truthfulness. Woman has no right for divorce. This right will still be man's prerogative. A woman can be appointed in Ministries or elected in the People's Assembly. She is a member in popular forces national convention. She has the right to an education. She forms half of society. Her participation in military forces needs more study. The Minister of Justice puts no limitations on professions. Women can be a judge in courts. Dr. Zeinab Al-Sobki wanted a full participation of women even in war, as in the prophet's time. After 1970, the ideal woman was the believer one, taking care of her children and her man. Other issues like birth control were outside religious discussions. A center for family planning was created but religion was not used to support it. Political authority left the door open for religious leaders, for non-political issues. That proves that religion was not taken seriously as an agent of development [8].

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(٨) IV p. 72, President's Comments on the Charter, 26.5.62.

(c)Abolition of Religious Endowment (Waqf): The Waqf was established to free big land areas from castration and to invest huge sums money instead of leaving it without being invested. Buildings were erected. Money was invested in banks. Charitable contrbutions increased and became more useful. It was not only consumed, but also it produced. After 1970 it appeared that endowments were not honestly administered. They were subject to theft, formal transactions, commissions and personal benefits, as in the famous Maghrabi case.

(d) Al-Azhar Development Laws: In July 5, 1961 Nasser issued the al-Azhar development law no. 103 to recognize Al-Azhar and its organizations. All previous laws of 1936 no. 2 were abolished. Al-Azhar is considered as the greatest Islamic Institute to conserve the Islamic legacy to study, to publish and to purify it. It carries the Islamic message to all Nations. It clarifies the Islamic essence and its influence in the progress of mankind and development of culture. It assures security, quietude and internal happiness for all men in this world and in the other world. It carries the responsibilities of Arab cultural renaissance and the re-birth of scientific and intellectual legacy of the Arab people. It shows Arab influence in the progress of mankind.

It develops literature, science and the arts, serves and realizes national and human goals and spiritual values. It provides the Muslim and the world with experts and "people of opinion" regarding law and religious and Arabic culture and the language of the Qu'ran. It educates scholars in religion. They join the faith in God, self-trust and spiritual power, academic,

scientific and professional capacities to prove the relation between religion and life and to make the link between dogma and behavior. Therefore, religious man will be able to participate in aspects of activity, of production, of leadership and of models of conduct. Secular man will also be able to participate in preaching religion for the sake of God in a nice way. The role of Al-Azhar will also be to strengthen scientific and cultural relations with Islamic academic universities and organizations, Arab or foreign [9].

Al-Azhar contains five organizations:

(a) Al-Azhar supreme council which draws the general policy and plans.

(b) Islamic research council which prepares studies on Islam to renew Islamic culture and purify it from excess and sectarianism.

(c)Islamic missions and culture administration, which deals with Islamic foreign students and cultural relations with the Muslim world.

(d) Al-Azhar university which carries the responsibility of graduate studies and research with new faculties of Islamic studies, Arab studies, business and administration, agriculture, medicine and other fields.

(e)Al-Azhar Institutes for undergraduate studies, primary and secondary institutes. Qur'anic schools are considered preparatory ones. The purpose of these institutes is to provide

(٩) Al-Azhar Development Law, no 103, 1961, in Al-Azhar 12 years, p. 102-28.

students of Islamic culture and simultaneously modern secular sstudents to be productive in life and to concur with other secular students in all levels of education.

(e) The High Council of Islamic Affairs: It was instituted in the search for alliances. In a time when Arab Nationalism was not yet present on the political scene, and when Pan-Africanism was still mere hypothesis, and few African States were independent, nothing was left for the Egyptian revolution except the third circle, the Islamic one. The council did not go beyond a headquarters in a nice Cairo district, Zamalek, a nice building, a high position, a rich institution and a famous name, especially in the Muslim world. Sadat was the first president, Oweida the last one, recently accused of corruption and illegal transactions. The activity of the council did not go beyond trips to the Muslim countries and exchange with other religious institutions, like the Roman Catholic secretariat for the non-Christians in Rome, institutionalized after Vatican II. At the best, it gave hundreds of copies of the Qur'an and Islamic books, especially to the non-Arab speaking Muslim countries. It published a monthly review, Manbar Al-Islam, a traditional one without having any real effect on religious or political life in Egypt. It published series of Islamic books, classical or modern, in Arabic or in foreign European languages, to expose Islam, dogma and law, to non-Arab speaking Muslims or the non-Muslims in general in the West. Nasser's Encyclopedia of Jurisprudence is a traditional reference book on Islamic law. It does not express the revolution, but only carries Nasser's name.

(f) Religious Education: As for Religious Education, Egyptian constitutions of 1956 and 1964 stipulated Islam as the State's religion. Religious catechism became compulsory in all schools, for both Christians and Muslims. Article 7 in the constitution says “the Family is the foundation of society, based on religion, ethics and nationalism.” Egypt, in Nasser's mind, is one of the most religious countries. Religion is the motive for good action and the source of distinction between good and evil. A Muslim is not defined by a Muslim I.D. card, but by religious education.

Religious catechism in primary schools includes the Qur'an, dogma, rituals, the prophet's life, and religious ethics like love of parents and animals, orderly life style, values like friendship, love of the neighbors, and some economic values like investment. Religious education in preparatory schools became broader and included public services, means of production, moderation in consumption, Islamic solidarity, work ethics, dedication, social conduct, honesty and nationalism. Social, political and economic values are put forward by the revolution in the religious catechism. The national catechism builds on the religious one, like State institutions and social problems, with reference to recent political documents like the October paper and its slogan, "science and faith" . Religious traditional values are still the dominant ones.

After 1970, answering a question of a student on the necessity of religious and Arabic language education in the universities, the President was pleased with the question and praised the student. He ordered the minister of education the

implementation of this request begining next year. A religious catechism committee was established. It became a fundamental subject in the schools, by decree of the national council for education, technology and scientific research. Al-Azhar also recommended religious education in the universities. It was asked to take the mission of religious orientation to correct students concepts and mobilize the youth in the universities. After 1970, and especially after the January 1977 riots, another mission was added to Al-Azhar, to struggle against atheism, to condemn communism and to form committees to defend the government policies, like prices increases, which the government itself abolished later. Religious zeal reached its peak in the decision of the high court (6.8.77), issuing a law of capital punishment for intentional anathema by clear words or deeds, of 10 years for repeated anathema and of severe punishments if anathema is practiced by minors. Anathema is proved by confession or witness of two men. Once the accusation is proved, the wealth of the accused is confiscated.

The application of Islamic law became gradually after 1970 a matter of overbid. Any demagogue evokes it for cheap popularity. In April 76, directions were given for the ministry of culture and information to apply Islamic Law. In August, programs appeared in the mass-media to introduce Islamic Law as a major source for legislation. The People's Assembly discussed the law of wine prohibition and thief's hand chopping in order to issue a law exempting Arabs and foreigners for touristic reasons!

(g) Religious Media: As for religious programs in the mass-media, a special radio channel was given to Qura'nic recitation in 21.43.64, about 14 hours a day. In 14.5.77 a public fund was installed to make it 24 hours. In 14.3.64, Hussein Al-Shaf'i laid the cornerstone for a new Qur'anic house with an LE. 150,000 annual budget.

New religious programs like "Light on Light" were installed. Prayers are called for five times a day in Radio and Television. Religious prayer on Friday and religious occasions are broadcasted and televised, showing the presence of the power elite at the head of the ceremonies. These campaigns indeed helped in legitimizing the political authority. In this, both the power elite and Nasser shared common practices.

The Bureau of religious affairs in the ASU had similar missions. The topic of “Islam and Socialism” was a predominant one. Socialism consistent with Islam. The Bureau held weekly meetings with the Ulamas, mosque inspectors and imams to explain socialism and answer critics in the name of Islam. It also arranged a series of lectures and symposiums to explain the relation between religion and socialism. Religious feasts were good occasions to explain social programs of the regime. The newspaper, "The Socialist," (Al-Ishtiraki) published many articles on religion and socialism, with the slogan “Religion for Life.” The public sector was extended to the field of publication. The national house for printing and publication (General Book Organization) was founded. Religious book printing and publishing prospered. The legacy of the past was the best-seller,

which proves that the intellectuals could not find, or provide, something to read better than the traditional heritage. Development in economy was parallel to tradionalism in culture. Several Islamic series were established to present Islamic approaches to social and political issues of the regimes, like liberation, decolonization, social justice, and equality. Such books were also best-sellers, which proves that the development of society from tradition is a very effective one. Several new Islamic reviews were intalled. Although traditional, they expressed the religious fervor of the intelligencia. Special pages in the daily newspaper, especially on Fridays, were consecrated to religion. Although traditional, they reflected the desire for continuity. Once a religious page takes things seriously and begins to criticize, religion as business, mystical orders or religious leaders, then it stops immediatley and its director is fired. That proves that any serious work on religion as an agent of development is more than the political regimes require. Religion has to come behind development, not before it. Initiation comes from politicians, justification is left to religion.

(h) Mystic Orders Reform: Although Nasser did not prevent Sufi orders from taking part in public religious celebrations and holidays, he carried out their reform program, to take them away from superstition and corruption. There were many efforts to issue a reform law. The final one was no. 118 in 1976, reorganizing Sufi orders in the name of the President of the Republic. The law determined the goals of Sufi orders, namely religious and spiritual education according to Islamic law. The second article prevented all deeds and ceremonies that

are contrary to the Shari'a. The highest authority is the "High Council of Sufi Orders", an autonomous organization to realize religious, spiritual, social, cultural and national goals. It is formed from the Sheikhs of all the Sufi orders, Sheikhs appointed by the President, ten other Sheikhs, Al-Azhar, the Ministry of Endowments, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Culture and local government representatives. The meeting proceedings have to be communicated to responsible ministries through their representatives within five days. It is prohibited to organize a new Sufi order, except a new one in its name and practices, by a decision from ministry of endowments and Al-Alzhar affairs and ministry of interior, with approval of the High Council of Sufi orders. When the Sheikh dies, his grandson, his brother, his relative, or another Sheikh of the order take over with this order of priority. The Sheikh appoints his representatives in country departments. All the names of the order 's members have to be written down in the order registers, which are submitted to political authorities for inspection. One observes that the law gave political authority a complete domination over Sufi orders. The reform of Sufi orders was done to put them under control and to use them in religious ceremonies and political rallies.

(i)Mosque-Building and Imam Orientation: Since the revolution, the ministry of Waqf built 1,500 new mosques and equipped many of the old ones with new libraries and Qura'nic recordings. Also, 16,000 mosques were under the financial responsibility of that Ministry. This acceleration of rythm in Mosque Building reached a point of competition between

government and citizens, between public officials themselves, and between citizens and the government. The building of a new mosque, picturesque and grandiose, in a public place, is a sign of political presence of the power elite and its achievements. Every public officer would like to compete with others to prove his doings during his ministry, in order to be reelected or reappointed. A campaign of funding is indeed a government campaign, being done through the ministry of social affairs. Artists and businessmen are the main contributors in mosque building for many reasons. Artists wanted to show, sincerely or not, that art brought them back to God. Businessmen wanted the benediction of God to do more business and to protect their wealth against envy or a camouflage for the bad business they are doing. Some are doing it for tax exemption. Microphones and amplifiers are put on the top of Minarets and make mosques more present. But the people say ironically "between a mosque and another mosque there is a third mosque." In contrast, schools, hospitals, and factories are not built in the same rythm. Religion here meant only houses for the Lord and not an agent of social development.

The Ministry of Endowments had a new role. It helped in organizing pilgrimages, collecting the Zakat, and distributing it to the poor. What was more important was using it as a general guidance, non-politically oriented, through Friday speeches. The Ministry of Endowments sent models of religious speeches, according to political orientation, from political authority. In case of political stagnation, the objects of religious speeches were usually traditional ones, dogmatic or ritualistic. But in case

of political troubles, political authority used the Imams as voices expressing official political views of the regime. Since April 1968, the Ministry of Endowments published a series called “Imams Library" to strengthen the faith after the defeat of 1967, to participate in the spiritual and moral mobilization of the country. The Imams are like the soldiers, and faith is a weapon. Some topics stayed purely theoretical, like Shura in Islam and the importance of popular participation in democratic practices. Whether the regime wanted to criticize the "centers of power” who abused popular trust, or wanted to take the shape of a democratic regime, such religious preaching, politically oriented, stayed harmlesss and without any effect on the masses. The Masses know that Imams follow political orientations. They believe more in their popular proverbs, which discredit the Imams and describe them as businessmen.

III - Impact of Religion on Development

The last survey on the impact of development on religion showed that religion was considered as an independent subject, like agriculture, industry, and trade, which were subjects of development. This religious development stayed limited, superficial and external. Religion was considered as an aim as such, and development as a means. But what is more important is the impact of development on religion. Because the masses are religious, religion was used as an agent of development. Once religion is the source of authority, political views become authoritarian views. In developing countries, religion plays the role of political ideology.

During the Egyptian revolution, religion was used as a vehicle of the political views of the regime, as a reaction to the use of religion by political opponents, internal but mostly external. The use came essentially from the power elite. Religious institutions and mass-media followed because the type of political regime was essentially concentrated on the charismatic leadership. Institutions were parts of the State. Mass-media was also controlled by the State. The concentration on the power elite political speeches, including Nasser's and Sadat's, was because the power elite was the first source of political decisions.

A. Revolutionary Values 1952

The revolution burst out on July 23rd, 1952. Naguib launched his famous slogan, "Unity, Order, Work". He tried to gratify these values by using religion, being himself a religious man addressing religious people. These three values were drawn from the book of God, the Qur'an, from the sayings of the prophet (Sunnah), from the history of the prophet's companions and their followers, and from the first khalifs and the early Muslim rulers. All citizens have to be united, without any religious discrimination between Muslims and Christians. Titles used by false aristocracy were abolished. Islam made all humans equal. There is no difference between an Arab and a non-Arab except in piety. The prophet called for solidarity and brotherhood. Members of society are like members of the body. If one is in pain, other members will suffer. God called in his book for unity and solidiarity. Naguib cited "And hold fast all together by the robe which God stretches out for you, and be not

divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude God's favour on you; for ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by his Grace, ye became brethren; and ye were on the brink of the pit of fire, and He saved you from it. Thus doth God make his signs clear to you; that ye may be guided" [10]. Kamal Al-Din Hussein followed the same path.

But effective leadership was in the hands of Nasser. Revolutionary values appeared in his speeches for two reasons. First, he wanted to fill the ideological gap in the free officers movement, the easiest and the quickest way was religion. Second, he sought political support from Al-Azhar, the most credible institution in the eyes of the masses. Every political leader found in religion his political support. Even Napoleon became a Muslim, dressed like a Sheikh and spoke to the Ulamas. Nasser insisted on revolutionary values like revolution, liberation, sacrifice, struggle, progress, democracy, republic against curruption and imperialism. The free officers' revolution was not a new one without precedent. Religious leaders did it before many times in the history of Egypt. They led the revolution and struggled for freedom. They faced Napoleon and stood firmly against the French Expedition. Then they participated in the Orabi revolution defending Islam and Arabism. Finally, they participated in the revolution of 1919, and lot of them fell as martyrs.

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(١٠) Qur'an, 3:103. Naguib speech in Department Delegations, 15.8.52 in Aswan, 23.3.53; Interview to voice of America. 22.3.53, 14.6.53, 10.7.53; Kamal Al-Din Hussein in 5.4.53.

In Egypt, there are two powers, army power and Ulamas power. They were always united. But Imperialism tried to divide both powers, Orabi first, the Ulamas second. Nowadays when the army revolted, the Ulamas had to follow, united with the army, struggling together against Imperialism and obtaining Egypt's freedom and independence. The message of Al-Azhar is no local one, but applies everywhere. It is not a mere complaint or indifference, leaving everything to the government, but real participation in national struggle, not as the Jews said to Moses: "Go thou, and thy Lord and fight ye two, while we sit here" (s.24)

True religious leaders revolt, like the army, against internal corruption and external domination. Those who worked under the Ottoman rule exploited people in the name of religion. The Ottoman khalifs dominated the Egyptian people and corrupted them in the name of religion for more than 400 years. The National Charter formulated this revolutionary impulse by saying "All messages of Heavens were essentially human revolutions defending human honor and realizing human happiness. The high duty of religious thinkers is to keep that very essence of religion. The same theme remained throughout the history of revolution. After 1970, Azhar men were considered the guardians of faith without any revolutionary content. They preserved the message of Mohammed as policemen preserved security [11].

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(11) 5:24, I p. 24 in Religious Institute, Alexandria, 18.4.53; I p. 234, Al-Azhar celebration of the evacuation treaty signature, 25.10.54; I p. 333, religious institute inauguration Al-Fayyoum, 6.7.55, Liberation Rally Headquarters discussing evacuation treaty 5.9.54; II p. 79, returning from Damascus 30.3.58, National Charter, p. 88; I p. 309, in front of Police officers, 17.5.71;II p.359-62,=

The Revolution needed struggle and sacrifice. Nasser, the predominant figure of the free officers, took religious occasions to press his new revolutionary values. The sacrifice feast meant obedience and sacrifice. The end of Ramadan feast meant patience, endurance and struggle. Abraham sacrificed his son as temptation. Countries pass through similar temptations in this national struggle. The life of the prophet himself is a life of struggle and sacrifice. Islam came as a message of freedom for all mankind. The prophet was alone, worshiping God in the cave and receiving revelation. He was injured, insulted and his live was threatened. But he resisted and fought. The same situation has repeated itself. Muslims now are in constant struggle against Imperialism. The slogan, "God is great and glory is to God became is great and long live Egypt." Egypt's independence is the meaning of "glory is to God". Rituals in Islam are simple ways to produce values of struggle, patience and sacrifice. Wishful thoughts and expressions of hopes are not enough. They will not bring freedom and independence, real struggle, or sacrifice of honest people. Nasser even believed in the distinction between small struggle, that against the enemy, and big struggle, against the self. Although this tradition is doubtful, Nasser used it to stress these revolutionary values. He mentioned it also in his "philosophy of revolution". The Higra itself meant struggle and sacrifice [12].

= reception of conference, Cairo 24.9.72; II p. 181 Labor Day, 1.5.72; III p. 52, Arab Unity Union Conference, 7.2.73; I p. 257-9 Prophet's birthday celebration,

(١٢) I p. 50, On the occasion of Sacrifice Feast, 19.8.53; I p. 67-70 In Rally Headquarters on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday, 28.11.53. In the Liberation Rally Headquarters on the occasion of Arab Islamic conference inauguration, 26.8.53; I p. 308-9, congratulation to the Muslim World on the occasion of the month of Ramadan during Nasser's visit to Bandung 26.4.55, =

Religious and political institutions followed the same path. Religious leaders reacted positivety to the needs of the free officers. The high Sheikh of al-Azhar, Hassan Ma'moun, in the 14th anniversary of the revolution, made a declaration saying that the revolution returned to Egypt its Arab and Islamic face, so the Revolution is one aspect of Divine Mercy. The stronger the crisis becomes, the nearer the revolution approachs. The revolution came to establish democratic life, which is the Islamic Shura. The revolution came to defend people's interests, which are the foundation of Islamic Law. This religious justification is a model of the type of thought of the religious establishment, featuring Justification, support, absence of criticism and initiative. During the same time, the Muslim Brothers were persecuted and tortured in 1965 and the highest religious office spoke of democracy and Shura! (13).

Moral orientation (Religious Section) in the ministry of war issued some pamphlets on religion and holy war (Jihad) with the Qur'anic verse at the cover "And strive in His cause as ye ought to strive, He has chosen you," with a saying of the president, “The faith of every soldier in religions, in principles, and in values is the base of soldier moral mobilization". Other politico-religious subjects were treated, like freedom, constitution and good behavior giving examples from Islamic history. These pamphlets also served as models of Friday speechs in military camps (14).

= In the ASU Assiut 8.3.65; III p. to Popular forces national convention in 2.7.62, Nasser: Philosophy of Revolution p. 39-40.

(١٣) Al-Ahram, 22.7.66.

(١٤) Qur'an 22.78 message of religious catechism no. 48,49.

The ASU religious affairs, preaching and ideology section published some studies on religion and revolution. Sheikh Ahmad Hassan Al-Baquri wrote "Religion and Progress," stressing the call of Islam for theoretical and experimental sciences, Islamic capability of satisfying the needs of the Ummah, national unity based on Islamic Unity. Islamic socialism, and Islamic woman liberation. Dr. T. Al-Garf stressed also the revolutionary values in Islam like justice, equality, democracy, cooperation and social reform. Sovereignty in Islam comes from the Ummah, represented by institutions. In the lectures for the preparatory stage of the Arab Youth Organization, reference was made to the Islamic method in individiual and community education. The Islamic method was characterized by integration, realism, activism, conformity to life science, reason and social solidarity (15).

The same revolutionary values appeared from 1962-4 after the Yemeni revolution. Republic, democracy and socialism were added to the early ones, freedom and liberation. The revolution of 1952 came out with the same slogans which Islam carried first, individual freedom and country freedom. There is no freedom for the country without freedom of the individual from capitalist and feudalist domination. This freedom was destroyed for hundreds of years under the Imams in the name of Islam. The Yemeni revolution put an end to slavery and enslavement and

(١٥) A.H. Al-Baquri, Religion and Progress, p. 7- 10; Dr. T. Al-Garf, People's Working Forces Democracy, p. 5-6, ASU, Socialist Youth Organization, 1st, preparatory stage lectures p. 161-90.

frightened the feudalist regime of Saudia Arabia. Religious leaders in Yemen always revolted against the Imams' despotism and dictatorship. They were imprisoned for their defense of freedom. They did not ask for money or social pride, but fought for freedom, for the sake of God [(16)].

After the revolution, Yemen left behind its isolationism, which the Imamate had imposed on it, and became a part of world progress. In its ancient history, Yemen was never isolated. On the contrary it propagated Islam. Yemeni missions left Yemen and preached Islam all over the Arabian Peninsula. The revolution put an end to the backwardness imposed on Yemen by the Imamate and the khalifate. Islam is not a reactionary religion, but a progressive one, a religion of development and of life. Islam covers this world and the other world, not the other world alone[(17)].

The revolution in Yemen hailed democracy and a republican system, which are in the same time two Islamic values. Islam came with Shura, which is against kingdom, Imamate and all hereditary political systems. In Islam, every one can be an Imam. That means the head of State. The Repulican political regime is an Islamic system. That is why the Qur'an criticized the royal system by saying that "kings, when they enter a country, despoil it and make the noblest of its people its

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(١٦) IV p. 71, 10th anniversary of the revolution 23.12.62; V p. 568, in front of great Ulamas in San'a Yemen 25.4.64; VI p. 418-427, in front of Yemeni delegation in the 11the anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63.

(١٧) V p. 563, In front of military forces in Yemen, 23.4.64; V p. 567-73, In front of great Ulamas in San'a, Yemen, 25.4.64.

meanest." In the republican system, all Islamic values are realized, including Shura, Democracy, equity, ordering good and prohibiting evil. Republic means that every Yemeni can be a President if he is elected freely by the Yemeni people. All citizens are equals. Each can object to the ruler, advise him and correct his mistakes, even by the sword. An Islamic political system is not a theocracy, but a democracy. The revolution was the only means to realize the republican system and to destroy the Imamate. The Revolution prepared the path for social change and the establishment of a new society [18].

The Yemeni revolution called for solidarity between all Yemeni tribes instead of hatred and wars, which the Imams had planted in order to divide the people. Solidarity, love and brotherhood are Islamic values. The revolution united the people, as Islam recommended, while the Imamate divided the people. The Qur'an said "Not if thou hadst spent all that is in the earth, couldst thou have produced that affection, but God hath done it"(8:63). Islam required solidarity between brothers, working together hand in hand for the glory of Arabism and against Imperialism, aiming at dividing the Arabs. Islam called for cooperation and brotherhood. Islam called for piety and rejected selling one's self for money. Islam called for forgiveness. The prophet forgave his relatives after returning back to Mecca. So will do the tribes, forgiving each other for the sake of their unity [19].

(١٨) IV p. 418-9, In front of Yemeni delegation in 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p 572, in front of great Ulamas in San'a, Yemen, 25.4.64.

(١٩) V p. 572, in front of great Ulamas in San'a, 25.4.64; V p. 571, in popular meeting in Ta'ez, 26.4.64.

Islamic solidarity appeared when Egypt rescued the young Yemeni Republic. Egyptian troops were to defend the Yameni revolution from foreign intervention and to put an end to reactionary forces of the Imamate. Egypt assumed its responsibility as an Islamic State and entered into a holy war against reaction and Imperialism. The triumph of the Yemeni revolution is a Triumph to Islam. There was no difference between the Yemeni mountains and the Arafat mountains in Mecca. Egypt struggled against British Imperialism in the South of the Arabian Peninsula, as a manifestation of Islamic solidarity. The Egyptian soldiers who died in Yemen are martyrs. They fought for God and will have eternal life.

Egypt at that time had launched the slogan "Freedom, Socialism, Unity". These revolutionary values are Islamic. Islam is a religion of freedom, socialism and unity. Islam unified all the Arabs, while Imperialism divided them. The Will of God is above the will of Imperialism. In early Islam there were no Yemenis, Sudanis, Syrians, Iraqis or Egyptians, but only Muslims. All went and dwelt anywhere. Yemeni tribes, Banu Mohammed and Banu Hassen, immigrated to Egypt. Islam created National unity between all Muslims. [20].

The "National Charter" formulated this progressive Islam, in saying "All religions had a progressive message, but reactionaries wanted to monopolize the wealth of the Earth for

(٢٠) IV p. 350, in front of military forces returning from Yemen, 20.5.63; IV p. 419, in front of Yemeni delegation in the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 561-3, in front of military forces in Yemen, 23.4.64; V p. -71, in front of great Ulama in San'a, Yemen, 25.4.64.

their own interests alone. They committed the crime of covering up their greediness by religion, trying to find in religion something which is contrary to its spirit in order to stop the course of progress. The Charter also mentioned that "The essence of religious messages does not go contrary to truths of life. Conflict results in cartain circumstances, from reactionaries' efforts to use religion against its nature and spirit, to stop progress by introducing artifical interpretations, contrary to its high desire and wisdom. The "Charter" spoke of Islam in general, referring to all religions and not to Islam in particular.

Several writings appeared explaining reilgion in the national "Charter" with the same rhetoric. They showed that Islam had a progressive role in history, assured by the Ulemas. Religion was in the midst of national struggle. ASU issued its newspaper the "Socialist" (Al-Ishtiraki), and its publications like "Religion and Life," showing the relation between Islam and science, Islam and development, giving examples from the past, and warning against deviations and false interpretations. Al-Ishtiraki published a special issue no. 35 on the "Charter" containing a study by Abdel Aziz Kamel on "Religion in the Charter". During the month of Ramadan, ASU held several symposiums on Islam and social development, Islam and democracy, Islam and equality. Other publications appeared on Islam and work, and on the workers rights in Islam, to substantiate the power elite perception on Islam and progress [21].

(٢١) The "Charter", p. 88; A. Al-Sharabasi, Religion and the "Charter", Dar Al-Quwmiya, 1965, ASU, Religion and Life, ASU, 3rd, Annual Book, 23.7.66, p. 80; M. Al-Rasafi, Islam and Progress, Al-Azhar Review, November, 1961; M.F. Mohmoud, The "Charter" and the Message or Religions, Manbar Al-Islam,=

After 1970, these revolutionary values disappeared, yielding to other passive values like patience, resignation, guidance, reliance, acceptance and faith. Some of the active values continued to appear, but on the level of words without any revolutionary content [22]. Democratic socialism also affiliated itself to Shura in Islam, to be practised in every apace and time, without any fixed rules. Anti-democratic laws, like the referendum after the January 1977 riots, also became a part of democracy.

B. Fanaticism and Violence (1954)

The real battle in which the power elite used religion was that of the Muslim Brothers, which reached its peak in 1954, then surged again in 1965. That means in the beginning of the revolutionary impulse and at its end. In spite of the good relationship which existed between the revolution and the brothers-- through Nasser's relations with Hassan Al-Banna, and the affiliation of some free officers to the Brothers, and the participation of the brothers in the eve of the revolution, and hereafter in supporting the revolution and calling for its popular support. In spite of all this, the struggle between them came to its peak in 1954. It was not a struggle of principle, rather a power struggle. It began before the revolution, when Abd Al-Moneim

= January 1964; M. Shalabi, Freedom in Islam, Ibid, January, 1964; Gamal Al-Din Ayyad, Islamic Law of Work and Workers, two volumes; Al-Khangi Bookshop; SM Al-Tamawi, Democracy and New Constitution, 3 - Democracy in Arab and Islamic Thought, p. 16-24.

(٢٢) I p. 3 Speech in the Islamic Research Conference 4.4.71; V p. 133-4 to Islamic Conference, Lagos, 23.3.75; Democratic Socialism, p. 35, p. 105 Universities High Council.

Abdel Ra'ouf requested free officers' adherence to the Brothers in values, that the Brothers can secure Free Officers life and future in case of failure. When Nasser refused because national issues do not hang on personal matters, Abdel Ra'ouf resigned six months before the revolution. When he and Abu Al-Makarem, head of the Brothers in the Army, asked, in the first day of the revolution, for weapons to distribute to the Brothers to defend the revolution, Nasser refused. However, Nasser expressed his desire to cooperate with them and offered them to participate in the Cabinet.

In spite of the law dissolving all political parties, the Brothers were not dissolved. On the contrary, they made three conditions: first, no law is issued without their approval; second, no decree is issued without their consent. These two conditions meant for Nasser that the Brothers wanted to tutor the revolution and to rule the country from behind the curtain. The revolution was ready to cooperate with them but was not ready to accept Brothers' tutorship. Third, the application of Islam which also meant tutorship in Nasser's mind. Hassan Al-Hudeibi asked Nasser to impose the veil all over the country and to close theaters and cinemas. Nasser could not be a theorist and in such private matters. Every father is responsible for his family. Islam is more wide than this narrow concept of Islamic law. Hudeibi himself left his daughter going to the university unveiled. The Brothers wanted to change society through authority. That is why they wanted power. The free officers had power and they did not want to share it with competitors [(23)]. That is why the revolution

(٢٣) I p. 217, Big meeting in Liberation Rally Headquarters for discussing evacuation Treaty, 5.9.54; I p. 204, In Liberation Rally Headquarters in front =

accused the Brothers of hatred and personal ambitions. They were not able to purify themselves from hatred, as a "partnership" which was always looking for power and dying for it. The revolution came and released the Brothers from jail, but instead of being thankful, the Brothers thought that the revolution had ended and that they should have power. To realise this aim, they monopolized religious interpretation. Theirs was the only truth, and the rest was completely false. Islam is a tolerant religion based on love and does not permit exclusivism based on hatred and fanaticism. But the Brothers formed a group of narrow minded dogmatists, using religion to dupe the people. They represented only themselves. In 1965, one citizen denounced them to the revolution, the real representative of the people [(24)].

To arrive in power, the Brothers formed a paramilitary secret organization to make an assault on government and make a coup d'etat in spite of their slogans on democracy. Hassan al-Banna initiated this secret organization to Struggle against the king, and Ibrahim Abdel Hadi, the prime minister who put the Brothers in jail and tortured them. But now this secret organization is not used against British Imperialism, but against the people, awaiting the opportunity to assault the government. The Brothers were opportunists, awaiting the opportunity for

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= of administrative councils members in Cairo, 21.8.54; V p. 442-3 speeches and discussions with the youth in the socialist youth organization, 18.11.65.

(٢٤) I p. 217-8, In the big meeting in Liberation Rally Headquarters for discussing evacuation treaty, 15.9.54; I p. 22-3, In front of Aziziyya people, Sharqiyya Dept. in Presidency coming to congratulate the President for evacuation treaty, 20.9.54; In front of Mosques' Imams conference to congratulate the President for evacuation treaty, 9.11.65; V p. 403, In front of Arab Students, Moscow 29.8.65.

their assault. They had a double face, innocent before simple believers, and criminal in their real intentions. They wanted to extend their organization in the Army and in the police, and create a state within the State. The secret organization practiced violence, threw bombs and assassinated political leaders.

Nasser himself was a subject of its assassination attempts in 1954. The Brothers made the assassination of political opponents Islamically legal. The People's Tribunal judged them and sentenced 867 members of the secret organization which were between 4,000-5,000, while 2,943 others were arrested. A military court sentenced 254 from the military forces, a low figure in Nasser's Revolution, compared to other world revolutions! Some were released in 1956, others in 1967, but the defeat of 1967 delayed them. They were always arrested when the regime was weak and released when the regime was strong. Nasser used every religious occcasion to discredit the Brothers. On the occasion of the prophet's birthday, Nasser described the life of the prophet as a peaceful life. The prophet unified his inward being with his outward actions. He was sincere, true and frank. Nasser supported his prophetic image with arguments. All were directed against the secret and violent practices of the Brothers [(25)].

The Brothers were first accused also of collaborating with the British, as they had already collaborated with the king. Al-Hudeibi negotiated with Evans, the oriental counsellor in the British

(٢٥) I p. 490, 2nd, cooperative convention, 1.6.56; V p. 447 Speeches and discussions with the youth of the socialist youth organization, ASU Helwan 18.11.65; V p. 481-2 People's Assembly opening seesion, 5th session, 23.11.67.1; VI p. 6, Workers Union, Helwan 3.3.68; I p. 251 on the occasion of the Prophet's Birthday, 8.11.54.

Embassy. Nasser met with Al-Hudeibi after wards in M. Dallah House, in the presence of Khamis Hemeida, Brothers Deputy Salah Abu Ruqaiq, Farid Abdel Khalek, Hassan Ashmawi. With Nasser were Kamal Al-Din Hussein, Salah Salem, and Abdel Hakim Amer. Nasser wanted to be informed about the Brothers opinion on the negotiations in order not to give more than he should. The Brothers were accused also of having accepted less than what the revolution wanted. Nasser discredited the Brothers, who opposed the evacuation treaty as having accepted less than National demands. He wanted to prove that their opposition to the evacuation treaty was not based on principles but on hatred, envy and competition. Indeed each camp, pretended to represent the people, the free officers through the revolution and the Brothers through their popularity. Each spoke in the name of the people. That is why the power struggle occurred.

Second, the Brothers were accused of collaboration with the palace like all other political parties, even the most popular one, the Wafd. Al-Hudeibi went to Abdin palace and kissed the king's hand as Al-Nahhass did previously, and in the same time he asked the revolution to prohibit minors less than 21 years old from entering night clubs. Hassan Al-Banna was more radical in his opposition to the palace and even paid his life for it.

Third, the Brothers were accused of collaboration with Arab reaction and even with Zionism. Israel radio propagated the Brothers' attack on the revolution. Saudia-Arabia helped them through Sa'id Ramadan and paid 250,000 as the first installment to him. The Brothers, as Nasser accused them, were agents of

those who paid more, Imperialist reactionaries and the Baghdad pact. All such things were done in the name of religion and under its cover. They used pilgrimages to attack the revolution. They used the mosques to launch their campaign against the revolution. "Somnambulism" replied to them, defending the revolution. Religion was from both camps indeed a vehicle for political propaganda (26).

Finally, the Brothers were accused of pronouncing empty slogans without any socialist content, while the revolution realized the social content of these slogans. The Brothers said that the Qur'an is their constitution, while the revolution dethroned the king, put an end to corruption and injustice and realized the evacuation of foreign troups from National soil. All these achievements were implementations of the Brothers' slogans. However, the free officers can be accused of the same. They pronounced slogans on freedom, democracy and socialism, while the realities were completely different. The distinction between intent and reality has always been a stumbling block for all revolutions or social change movements.

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(٢٦) I p. 204-5, In Liberation Rally Headquarters in front of administrative council members in Cairo, 21.8.54; I p. 217-19, in the big meeting in Liberation Rally Headquarters for discussing evacuation treaty, 5.9.54; VI p. 152, Labor day, 2,5,67; I p. 222, in front of Aziziyya delegation, Sharqiyya congratulate the president for evacuation treaty, 20.9.54; V p. 40, In front of Arab students, Moscow, 29.8.65; V speeches and discussions in socialist youth organization camp Helwan, 18.11.65; V Speeches and discussions in socialist youth Suez National day celebration organized by the ASU, 22.3.66; VI p. 158, Labor day, Shubra, Al-Kheima, 2.5.67.

After 1970, there was no more reference to that quarrel between the Brothers and the revolution, except once, referring to the assassination attempt on Nasser's life in 1954 in Manshiya square, which proves that the quarrel between both was a power struggle. Once it ended for the benefit of the revolution, the quarrel ended. Nowadays, in spite of the growing influence of the Brothers in campuses, the reappearance of their monthly review Al-Daawa, the extreme popularity for some of their Imams in Friday speeches, their theoretical opposition to Camp David agreements, and their huge gatherings for prayer in the two feasts in Abdin palace where Abdel Kader Ouda in 1954 made his last anti-Nasser speech and paid his life for it, a tacit agreement between both is still existing. Who knows: maybe the fire is still going underneath. The example of Iran is not so far away [27].

C. Arab Unity and National Unity (1958)

The power elite began to use Islam again in the 1958 battles of Arab Unity, after the union of Egypt with Syria forming United Arab Republic. The Muslims in the middle ages had became the Arabs of Modern Times. Islam was just a historical precedent that can serve as a model for the present. The subject of Muslim or Arab unity against division appeared after the revolution as a kind of political and religious preaching, without any corresponding political reality. It meant only the total support of all the people to the new coup d'etat. When the first form of Arab unity was established, Islam was used as a historical precedent. During the Crusades, the Arabs were united against one of the early forms of Western Imperialism. Salah Al-Din united Egypt and Syria and defeated the Crusaders. Nasser also united Egypt and Syria in order to defeat Imperialism. The unity between Egypt and Syria was considered as

(٢٧) I p. 219, In the big meeting in Liberation Rally Headquarters, for discussing the evacuation treaty, 5.9.54; V p. 19, in the central committee, 20.11.75.

the way to total Arab unity. The revolution of July 14 in Iraq, and the Lebanese civil war in the aftermath, strengthend the feelings of Arab unity. All the Arabs thought that they were on the eve of total Arab unity. Nasser transposed the old history onto the modern one. He called the Muslims during the Crusades Arabs and he called Islamic unity Arab unity. He saw the Crusaders as the Imperialists of the middle ages. Regardless of the historical accuracy of such a description, Nasser looked for historical precedent.

Imperialism took the advantage of the division between the Arabs, as they do nowadays, and was able to infiltrate their countries. But once the Arabs were united, they were able to stop the imperialist invasions and to throw them out of their lands. The Crusades were able first to occupy Palestine and Jerusalem and to divide the Arab Nation between North and South and between East and West. Afterwards they wanted to carry their mission in Egypt. They did arrive at Sharqia and Belbes, at the doors of Cairo. The Egyptian army was fighting alone. In order to rescue the Arab World, Egypt united with Syria. Sultan Nour Al-Din Mahmoud of Syria sent his armies to Egypt. Both Egyptian and Syrian armies were able to stop the Crusader's invasion on Palestine’s borders.

Twenty years later the Crusaders attacked again. This time they attacked Syria. Egypt and Syria were united again under Salah Al-Din. The Egyptian army was sent to Syria and defeated the Crusaders in Hittin. The Egyptian and Syrian armies were able afterwards to liberate Palestine and Jerusalem. The lesson drawn from this history is that Arab division brings defeat, unity brings victory. 700 years ago the Crusaders, led by Louis king of France, invaded Damietta, occupied it and walked towards Mansoura. King Al-Nasser, in spite of his illness, from Damascus and with the Egyptian army, defeated Louis and his army. Louis was captured and then ransomed. He left to North Africa but he was defeated again in the Maghreb.

In an article in the Israeli Military Magazine, entitled "To Damascus" it is said: "if we want to defeat the Arabs, we have to march towards Damascus. The big mistake the Crusaders committed when they occupied the Arab countries was leaving Syria without occupying it. That enabled the Arabs to unify themselves and free themselves from the Crusader's invasion. The Syrian people are dangerous. Ancient history proved them, but disunity was the cause of foreign invasion, and unity is the way to victory. Disunity can be defeated by small armies and unity defeats big armies, like those of France and Britain from 1180 till 1957. The United Arab Republic is the way to victory [28].

The Tatar invasion of the Arab world was also stopped, thanks to the unity between Egypt and Syria. In the same time when the Crusaders were invading the Arab world from the West, Tatars from central Asia were invading it from the East. The Tatars arrived at Baghdad and marched towards Syria, which was busy at that time fighting the Crusaders. However Syria resisted the Tatar invasion. Egyptian armies came to help and fought with the Syrian armies against the invincible Tatars, defeating them in Ein-Galut in 1260 A.H. The Tatar army fled Syria, crossed the Euphrates and were followed by the Syrian and Egyptian Armies [29].

As the Muslim Brothers used religion as a mask to cover their political ambitions and their greed for authority, the Crusaders did the same thing. They covered their imperialistic intentions with a religious mask, namely

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(٢٨) II p. 78-80, Returning from Damascus, 20.3.58; II p. 27-371, Putting cornerstone in the officers residence, Damascus, 14.3.59; II p. 568, celebrating 150 years after British defeat in Rashid, 28.7.59; II p. 204, Algeria day, 1. 11.60; III p. 175-6, Arab Workers Victory day, 7.5.60.

(٢٩) II p. 78-9, Returning back from Damascus, 20.3.58; III p. 313, National Union popular meeting welcoming President Ayoub Khan, Cairo University, 8.11.60.

liberation of the holy land from Muslim rule! They sent expeditions for domination in the name of religion. They used the sign of cross to hide their imperialistic intentions. They occupied Jerusalem and continued to Egypt. Louis the 16th wanted to exploit Egypt's wealth in the name of religion. He wrote to king Al-Saleh, who ruled Egypt at that time: "it is clear to you that people of Andalusia carry to us money and gifts and we drive them as we drive donkeys. We kill their men, make their women widows and capture their sons and daughters. We kick them out of their houses. I advise you if you swear with all your faith and carry the chance one hour in front of me. For the priests, I will never return back without fighting you in your cheerest home!" Louis said also "If this land, Egypt, becomes to me it will be a gift in my hand". Under the sign of the cross the Crusaders wanted the land. They converted the message of Jesus, message of brotherhood and peace, to a message of agression, violation and occupation [30].

Nasser did not use Islam to preach Arab unity as the Crusaders used Christianity to invade the Arab world. He did not call for holy war against new Crusaders. One Crusaders expedition changed its destination and went to Constantinople, the Christian capital of the Byzantine Empire, destroyed it and pillaged its wealth. That proved that the Crusades were not religious but imperialistic invasions. Nasser called only for Arab unity, beginning with unity between Egypt and Syria and the establishment of the United Arab Republic as a posteriori justification of a political decision. He did not interpret Islam in a revolutionary way, but he unveiled the religious mask of the Crusaders. He was more a secular ideologist than a religious one. Arab

(٣٠) III p. 566, Celebrating 150 Years after the British defeat in Roshtta, 28.7.59; III p. 172-3, Arab Workers Victory day, 7.5.60; III p. 437, popular meeting in Damietta 8.2.61; VI popular meeting explaining March 30th declaration 18.3.68.

Nationalism was conceived in a secular way and its seeds were planted in a secularized history. The Muslims in the middle ages were Arabs, and the Crusaders were against the Arab Nation!

Thus ancient history repeated itself in modern history. It was not an accident when General Allenbee arrived in Jerusalem at the head of British troops and said “Now, the Crusades have ended.” It was not an accident when Gouroux at the head of French troops entered Damascus, arrived at Salah Al-Din’s grave and said "Here we are, coming back, Salah Al-Din". The Arabs had seven armies in the Palestine war of 1948 and were defeated. Had they one united army, as during the time of Salah Al-Din, they would have been able to defeat the new Crusaders, namely British mandate, which wanted to destroy Arab Nationalism in a new way. The same Crusaders continued since the failure of the British fleet in 1801 and 1807. British troops tried again after the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the first world war. In 1948, British Imperialism left the greatest part of Palestine to Zionism, the prime agent of Imperialism in the Middle East. In 1967, American Imperialism took over, giving the chance to Zionism to take Jerusalem and to excute a conspiracy against the Arab Nation. In the original Crusades, Imperialism stayed 70 years. That does not mean that the Arabs today have to wait that long, because they have the will to freedom [31].

What happened in the past can be repeated in the present. As the Arabs were able to defeat two invasions, the Tatars and the Crusaders. They can defeat Imperialism and Zionism. As unity was the cause of victory in the past, unity can also be the cause of victory in the present. Egypt, united with

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(٣١) II p. 80-81, Returning from Damascus, 20.3.58; II p. 568, celebrating 150 years after British defeat in Rosetta, 28.7.59; III p. 174-5 Arab Workers Victory day, 7.5.60; III p. 431, popular meeting, Damietta, 8.5.61; II p. 304, Algeria day 1.11.60; VI Arab Workers International Union, 26.2.67; VII p. popular meeting explaining March 30th declaration 1.3.68.

Syria under one leadership, can defeat Zionism and defend the Arab character of Palestine. Nasser is a new Salah Al-Din!

After 1970, this topic did not appear except once or twice, which proves the absence of an Egyptian policy for Arab unity during that period and forward. It appeared at the period of denasserization, when Nasser's themes appeared to show continuity between the two regimes, as a cover up to the real discontinuity of intent [(32)].

Arab unity in front of the Crusaders also carried national unity between Muslims and Christians. Both fought together, defending Arabism. Muslims and Christians always lived in love and brotherhood in the same homeland.

But National unity appeared also as an independent topic, separate from Muslim and Christian unity, on several occasions in or outside Egypt, in Lebanon. In spite of the few sectarian troubles in Nasser's time, the topic of National unity between the two major groups in Egypt became a dominant one in the power elite's perception.

After 1970, the topic of National unity became more and more salient because of the political regime’s weakness and its monopoly of national problems, leaving the people to false partisanship, in soccer or in religion. Socio-political causes were completely ignored, and only general religious preaching on love, tolerence and brotherhood was used. A casual reading of the relations between the two communities does not give the reasons for this misunderstanding. [(33)].

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(٣٢) I p. 408, Declaration to the Nation, 24.5.71; 2nd, popular convention of the ASU, 1st session, 23.7.7 1; I p. 435, declaration to the nation, 30.8.7 1; V p. , Interview with Ros Al-Youssuf Magazine, 23.3.75.

(٣٣) II p. 568.

Sectarianism in Egypt has no foundation. All citizens are equal in rights and duties, regardless of religious confessionalism. Each citizen is seen through his work. Work opportunities are open to all, citizen alike, Christian or Muslims. High positions in Egypt are held by Christians, not because they are considered as such, but because they are qualified. Students enter universities according to their school grades, not according to their faith. The revolution refused to pomulgate any law based on sectarianism. Promotion in civil work is made according to the seniority system. Article 24 in the Constitution says that all Egyptians are equal in front of the law, equal in rights and duties without any distnctions of race, origin, language, confession or religion (34).

After 1970, the same preaching continued. The history of Egypt proved that Islam equalized among Muslims, Christians and Jews in rights, duties and social relations. Some non-Muslims even reached the highest public offices, like rulers and ministers.

This unity is one of the authentic characteristics of the people. It was a major shield against cessions all over history. Sectarianism is a stranger to the spirit of Egypt. Christians, before and after Islam, were patriots against foreign domination. They put their hands in Muslim hands against the common enemy. Al-Azhar and the Patriarch were custodians of religion in the East, defending Divine Messages, the people and the nation. Religion was the source of patriotism in Egypt and all over the Arab World. Tolerance and Brotherhood dominated. The minarets of mosques and towers of churches join

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(٣٤) III p. 49, In front of Syrian Youth and Workers, Alexandria, 17.8.61; IV p. 34-5, Interview with the Lebanese Magazine Koll Shay' 13.5.62; V p. 65 p., 351-2, cornerstone laying celebration of Saint Mark's Cathedral, 22.7.65; Temporary Constitution of the UAR, 25.3.64, p.12.

other. Sheikhs and priests embrace each other. Muslim and Christian professors cooperate and participate in Islamic and Christian international conferences. The prophet did not prevent Jews and Christians from worshiping God in their synagogues and churches. Islam is based on tolerance, love, goodness and human relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam is a religion of freedom and of science. Sectarianism, which may have appeared in the Arab world, never appeared in Egypt because it is against the people's nature. [35].

National unity between Muslims and Christians is established on the principles of Islam. Both Islam and Christianity are revolutions based on love, not on hatred and fanaticism. Both called for equity and equal opportunities. All religions called for these revolutionary principles. They called also for work for the poor and the miserable. They disapproved exploitation and all forms of enslavement. Christ himself was a victim of enslavement and occupation. Christians endured pain and torture with faith and patience. They continued however, preaching love and brotherhood. Mohammed struggled like Christ. Both Muslims and Christians worked together throughout history, since the time of the prophet. The Qur'an ordered this brotherhood and prohibited bigotry. Since Islam entered Egypt, the mutual love between Muslims and Christians continued. The Copts did not convert to Islam by force, but according to their free will. Islam recognized the rights of the people of the Book and considered them brothers in God. This was the revolution's concept of religion: love, brotherhood, equity, and equal opportunities. A

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(٣٥) I p. 394 Message to Islamic societies conference in USA and Canada, held in Los Angeles, 4.7.71; II p. 343, Alexandria University, 27.7.72; II p. 441-2, Message to Islamic conference, Dakar, 7.17.72; II p. 406-7, Social work day 30.11.72; II p. 418-9, Declaration to the Nation, 28.12.72.

strong nation is reached without sectarianism, but with nationalism like that felt by every soldier in the battlefield [36].

After 1970, the general and theoretical preaching on Islamic tolerance and religious freedoms continued. Islam calls for equity, cooperation and love. Muslims are unified through Islam, without any aggression on other religions. They study Islam with complete respect for other religions. Islam recognizes preceding religions and admits their holy scriptures. Islamic faith is incomplete if it does not contain the totality of Scriptures. Islam came to unify human beings, not to separate them, to make them brothers, not to inject enmity between them, and to defend religious freedom, not to coerce anybody to believe in any religion. Mohammed and Christ, like previous prophets, asked people to believe in God, in the last judgment and in good deeds. Every believer is free to practice his own religion in his own way. All participate in doing good and righteousness[37]. President Sadat even showed a practical model. He inaugurated a mosque and passed in front of a church to symbolize the unity of the Nation. He did the same just when he bowed in front of Nasser's bust in the People's Assembly.

Nasser did not depend only on that kind of political religious preaching, calling for love and brotherhood, but he looked for national unity in history to substantiate his claim, from medieval history during the Crusades or modern history since the revolution of 1919 in Egypt. Muslim and Christian blood was shed for the same ideal of Patriotism. In the Palestine war in 1948, the enemy bullet did not make any distinction between Muslims and Christians. In 1956,

(٣٦) V p. 41-2, ASU National convention, opening session, 22.7.75;

(٣٧) VI p. 169, 10th Students Conference, Alexandria University, 33.74; V p. 219-20 To Islamic conference in India, 19.4.75; V p. 343, Interview to Lebanese Newspaper Al-Anwar, 22.6.75; People's Assembly special session, 14.3.76; To Ismailia citizens in Shifa' Mosque, March 76, p. 3 Labor Day, 1.5.76; p. 30, In the second Art Festival, 8.10.79, p. 4.

the enemy bombs did not separate Muslims and Christians either. Both were the sons of Egypt. Enemy's divisions did not separate Mosques and Churches [38].

The same reference to history is made after 1970. The two communities forming the Nation were unified during the Crusades, the Tatars and the Israelies. No one in Egypt can recognize the grave of a Muslim from the grave of a Christian. Both embraced in death as they did in life. When the Crusaders prohibited Egyptian Copts from visiting Jerusalem because they did not cooperate with them against their compatriots, Muslim sadness was not less than Copt sadness. Dr. William Soliman is quoted in Abdel Aziz Kamel book on "Al-Nasser Kalawon" that the Crusades took religion as a cover to their imperialistic wars. That is why the Egyptian Copts were united with Egyptian Muslims against them. Sectarian troubles were isolated phenomena that did not express the nature of the people, who believed that religion is for God and the country is for all. Religion, the President affirmed, was never used for political reason but was the custodian of the country's spiritual heritage. However it is just the opposite. Religion was always used for political reasons to justify political authority. The unity of the people is its major force. The Arab world received all Divine Messages and unified them all in its breast. This unity appeared in Coptic and Islamic Arts. It appeared also in the adoption of Islam by all Mediterranean peoples [39].

According to Nasser, there are two reasons for sectarianism, Imperialism and Reaction. Sectarianism in Egypt came from imperialistic

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(٣٨) V p. 350-1, cornerstone laying celebration of Saint Mark's Cathedral, 22.7.65.

(٣٩) III p. 12,3 Interview to Lebanese Journalists president 19.1.73; IV p. 585-6. Message to Islamic-Christian Conference, 11.9.74; IV p. 704-5, Suez 24.10.74; V p. 123-4 message to Islamic Conference in Lagos 23.3.75.

propaganda. Imperialism contended that socialism in Egypt was established on a sectarian base. Equity was realized for Muslims alone. France during its occupation of Syria encouraged sectariansim, but the Syrian people, Christians and Muslims, united and fought the French occupation. The blood of the martyrs is Arab blood, neither Muslim nor Christian blood.

In Egypt. imperialism wanted to use sectarianism to divide the working class, in order to deflect it from its real target, namely equity and social justice.

Reaction in Egypt also wanted to use sectarianism to divert the people from their real battle, that of socialism. Reaction used some religious leaders to preach fanaticism and bigotry. But popular consciousness was aware of that imperialistic and reactionary conspiracy [40].

However, Nasser tried to explain the reason for modern sectarianism, not only by external factors like Imperialism and Reaction, but also by internal factors, not in Egypt but in human nature! In every society there is the good guy and the bad, the sane person and the insane person. Problems generate from a few fanatics, Muslims or Christians. In the villages, a Muslim shows fanaticism and incites Muslims to do likewise. A Christian shows fanaticism and incites christians to do likewise. These few incidents committed by few people do not make a general phenomenon. A Muslim fanatic does not represent Muslims in general, and a Christian fanatic does not represent Christians in general either. To remedy such isolated phenomena, Nasser proposed religious guidance and self-control. The rest of the community must not follow fanatics from either side. Reasonable men can solve such minor problems in villages and far places. God created the

(٤٠) II p. 283, Damascus, 17.10.60; III p. 492, in the Syrian Youth and Workers Alexandria, 22.8.61.

world and with it created bigotry. The role of reasonable men is to diminish these problems and dissolve them. In Nasser's mind, bigotry is in nature, however, uncommon. It appears in far places by lack of education. It can be surmounted by guidance, self-control and the supervision of reasonable men. Social and political causes were completely ignored in this analysis [41].

After 1970, Sadat gave two other reasons to explain sectarian troubles in Egypt. The first was agents infiltrating within the people and causing trouble. These agents are those who are eager for power, may be Muslim Brothers, Nasserists and Marxists. All wanted to destroy national unity by injecting suspicions and doubts between Muslims and Christians. They distributed, according to the regime, accusatatory tracts injuring Muslims and Christian's feelings, printed from abroad, from the USA. That was a part of the psychological war, irresponsibly using the superficial sectarian tension. The sectarian conspiracy was conceived in America and Canada. The Al-Azhar Sheikh and Coptic Pope saw the written proofs. Sectarianism is an artificial phenomenon and does not express the authenticity of the people [42].

Second, Islamic religious zeal and extremism, which exaggerated the importance of appearances, caused a counter zeal and extremism, exaggerating the importance of the appearances to the Christians, appearances like calling for prayers five times a day in the mass media, by minors on the minarets, and state celebrations of religious feasts. The Christians asked to do likewise. The regime tried to justify Muslim zeal as itself a reaction to atheist and materialist domination! After 1970, the second reason turns back to the first, once atheism

(٤١) V p. 352, Cornerstone laying celebration of Saint Mark’s Cathedral 22.7.65.

(٤٢) II p. 325-6, ASU national convention, opening session, 28.12.72; III p. 423, Declaration to the nation, 28.12.72; III p. 12-3, Interview to Lebanese Journalists president, 19.1.73.

became the best attack against political opposition, to discredit it in the eyes of the Masses.

Sectarianism erupted after the January 1977 riots, during the political regime's weakest moment. The President met with religious leaders in 8.2.77 to cover up political and economic crises, using religious preaching on national unity between Muslims and Christians, without going to the social and political causes of sectarianism.

He refered the subject to religious leaders, responsable for devine law on Earth! The President offered his own religious solution:

Faith! He substantiated his claim by historical evidence. Faith was a sharp weapon, which defended the country in its moments of grave crisis. Faith is an authentic element in the Egyptian people, while struggle and tension are purly accidental. Egypt from its early history was a country of tolerance and brotherhood. The people have a religious sense, by which they can distinguish between the essence and the accidents in religion. Islam was propagated in Egypt calmly and peacefully, in contrast to Roman violence. Till now, Egyptians in the countryside do not know any calendar except the Coptic and the Islamic calendars. The modern Christian calendar is known only in urban areas. For the President, the cooperation between Muslims and Christians appeared in an introduction by a Muslim scholar to a book written by a Christian, Isis Habib, The Song of the Coptic Church, and in an Islamic reference used in a book written by a Christian scholar, Dr. William Soliman in his book, The Egyptian Church facing Imperialism and Zionism. The President mentioned scriptural arguments from the Gospel and from the Qur'an to prove the common message of love and brotherhood. Christ said to his disciples, “This is the command, that Ye love each other as I loved you” (John). Christ gave priority to offering love, and said “If ye present an

offering to God and remember that ye were not on good terms with your brother, leave your offering and go to your brother and reconcile with him. Afterward you come and present your offering" (Matthew). Also the Qur'an said: "And hold fast, all together by the robe which God (stretches out for you) and be not divided among yourselves; and remember with God's favor on you, for ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in love so that by His Grace, ye became brothers; And ye were on the brink of the pit of fire and He saved you from it" (3:103). What Nasser considered a proof for Arab Unity in its high water, Sadat considered a proof for a national unity in its low water (43).

Sadat referred the problem of sectarianism to Muslim and Christian religious leaders, the only responsibles to deal with it. He did not try bureaucratic solutions or using authority to solve real problems. Both cases are symptomatic of Sadat's regime. He recommended religious catechism in schools as a subject matter of pass and fail. New professors have to be hired. New modernized religious books have to be written. Religions have to be readopted to new circumstances and modern problems. Children have to be educated on religious values and faith from their early childhood till the university, as if human beings need a constant tutor or supervisor, without any need or moral consciousness of their own. Religious leaders have to begin a campaign to educate the people and teach them love and brotherhood. The President met with religious leaders as he met with artists, singers and journalists. He met with the Islamic Research Council, headed by the great Imam, the Sheikh of Al-Azhar. He met on the same day and not after, with the members of the Holy Council for Orthodox Copts, headed by the Coptic Pope. The President called every one to be fanatic! Religious

(٤٣) Meeting with religious leaders, 8.2.77, p. 23-5.

fanaticism means belief, rituals and commitment to Divine virtues. The distinction of the President, between fanaticism for religion, which is good, and fanaticism outside religion, which is bad, is a fine distinction. The first means more love, brother-hood, sympathy and solidarity. The second means incitation, rancor, and division. However, nobody may be able to make that distinction and instead people may only be able to follow the President's call for fanaticism [(44)].

Religious sectarianism reached its peak in Lebanon's civil war since 1975. The President made an appeal to Pierre Al-Gamaiel, the falangist leader, urging him not to transform the battle to a sectarian one. The Arab world in general and Lebanon in particular, for the President, know only religious tolerance. The area was the cradle of all religions. War in Lebanon may have taken a sectarian shape, but it is not a sectarian war in its substance. In Lebanon, all sects lived together and were completely mixed together for centuries. The war is a Lebanese war, among the Lebanese themselves, and the Palestinians. But secessionists explain the war as a sectarian one [(45)].

National unity also meant unity of people's working forces, unity of ideological trends or unity of political parties. Class struggle was omitted because it is against national unity. Any ideological polarity is prohibited because it is against the socialist option in Egypt. Political parties were dissolved in Egypt first and in Syria second, because they are against the one party system, the Arab Socialist Union. The same meaning continued after

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(٤٤) Press conference, Damascus, 17.11.77; p. 11-5, 7th anniversary of Nasser's death, 28.9.77.

(٤٥) Interview with Lebanese Magazine Al-Hawadith 21.8.7, p. 20. To the Egyptian people and the Arab Nation in the People's Assembly opening session, 18.10.75, p. 10; To the Ros-El-Youssuf Deputy, 3.7.76, p. 4-5.

1970. National unity meant the abolition of class struggle and not the struggle against sectariansim. The President used the legal concept of National unity to defeat an illegal social situation of class distinctions [46].

D. Socialism and Islam (1962)

The battle of Religion and Socialism was the most important battle of all in the revolution years. Religion was used first by Arab reactionaries to attack socialism, and then by Nasser to defend socialism and to counterattack Arab reactionaries. The battle began soon after the socialist laws of 1961 and continued till the beginning of another battle in 1965, that of Islamic pact after the stabilization of socialism in Egypt.

The battle began from outside Egypt, from the Western mind, which saw in every progressive revolution a communist danger, even before the revolution adopted the socialist system.

After the defeat of the triparty aggression in 1956 and the revolutionary victory, Nasser was asked by the Italian newspaper Al-Tempo correspondent whether there was any resemblance in principles between Islamic religion, on which the Arab States' policy is based, and Marxism, and whether religious fanaticism was the reason Arabs stayed away from communism. Nasser replied that Islam is the religion of the Arab majority. Islam presents the general principles of human cooperation. There is no need for new principles, communist or others [47]. Foreign powers began at that time to fear Egyptian alignment to the East. They wanted assurances that the struggle against Imperialism and nationalization measures, that means the struggle for political and economic independence, would not be escalated to an alignment with the socialist camp against the West. After the triumph of Egypt in the Suez Canal

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(٤٦) II p. 22, Declaration to the Nation. 13.1.72.

(٤٧) I p. 636, Political Interview with Italian correspondant 11. 12.56.

battle, and after it became an example of a Third World country struggling for its independence, suspicions about Nasser arose in the Western mind.

Three years later, in 1959, reference to Islam appeared again during the rift between Nasser in Egypt and Kassem in Iraq. In an interview with the Indian Journalist Karangiya, who asked Nasser about the communist danger to Islam and about legal opinions (Fatawi) launched against Atheism, which bothered public opinion in India and Yugoslavia and also harmed Arab Nationalism, Nasser denied using Islam for propaganda. But because Iraqi leaders in their writings expressed atheistic non-Islamic views, every one, Muslim or Christian was against them. Political authority, according to Nassser, had nothing to do with that attack on Iraqi communists. Nehru himself had observed that communists in Iraq waged religious war and hurt popular feelings of the Muslims. News came from Iraq that the Qur'an was torn down. Nasser described himself as a religious man who rejects Atheism.

Religiosity is not limited to rituals, but is also expressed in daily conduct and in human relations [(48)]. Here, Nasser played the role which Saudi Arabia played later, namely the attack on socialism, a disguised form of communism, against Iraqi leaders. The purpose was not to defend Islam but to use religion in the power struggle against his competitor Kassem of Iraq. Whether religious leaders launched their Fatawi against Kassem following Nasser's directives or on their own, in both cases they followed the same political line with the political authority. The Minister of Religious Affairs, the Sheikh of Al-Azhar, the head of the Islamic Research Council or minister of information and culture are all appointed by political authority. All followed their boss, whether by function, by order or by voluntary action to please the authority. Slaves know always how to fulfill the desires of their masters.

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(٤٨) II p. 421-2, Interview with Indian Journalist Karangiya, 17.4.59.

Two years later (1961), religious justification of Nasser's socialism began in full gear, shortly after the promulagation of the famous socialist laws. It reached its peak in 1962-63. It continued till 1965, the beginning of another battle, that of the Islamic pact. Islam, which Nasser used against Kassem, was used two years later by Faisal against Nasser himself. The use of religion was natural because religion is a popular tradition. It serves as mass culture. It can serve as an easy way to convince the masses. Religion in developing countries plays the role of political ideologies in developed countries.

Nasser began his counter attack against Arab reactionaries after they had used Islam against Arab Socialism. He wanted to disarm his opponents of the sharpest weapon they had, the religious one [(49).] Indeed, Arab reactionary regimes in Saudia Arabia and Yemen began their attack against Nasser's socialism after the secession between Egypt and Syria, in September 1961.

They thought it was the proper time to attack Nasser and to destroy his socialist revolution, after he was weakened and hit in the back. The attack came essentially from Radio Mecca.

There were two ways of religious justification, a positive way, where Nasser proved that Islam is a socialist religion, and negative way, where he replied to Arab reactionary attacks. Both were intertwined and inseparable. They were launched in the same line of thought. Logically, negation precedes affirmation, but for the sake of recognizing the positive element in Nasser's political use of religious justification, the positive way “Islam and Socialism" came before the negative way “Islam and Reaction".

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(٤٩) V p. 312, Popular meeting in Aswan, on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63.

(a) Islam and Socialism: According to Nasser, Islam is a socialist religion. Medieval Islam formed the first socialist experience in the world. The prophet Mohammad was the head of the first socialist State. He was the first who applied nationalization policies in the famous saying, "people share three: water, grass and fire”. In other versions salt is added. These were at that time the fundamental sources of wealth, which corresponds nowadays to agriculture, industry, and mining [50].

Islam, Nasser continued, is a religion of equity, of social justice and of equal opportunities. That means that Islam is a religion of socialism. Both religion and socialism mean equity between men, equal opportunities, raising the standard of living and dissolving class distinctions. Religion made equal opportunities the base of punishment and reward. Every one begins his life on his own and acquires his own work. He does not begin by inherited class, poverty, ignorance or disease or by inherited membership in an exploiting class. There are no masters and slaves by inheritance. There are no workers and peasants by inheritance. All men are equal and free. Islam does not tolerate a society of poor and rich. Before the revolution, 5% owned 90% of national income. The revolution came to put and end to this unjust distribution and to abolish capitalist and feudalist classes. Doing this, the revolution was applying Islam, because Islam does not allow the rich to usurp the poor [51]. Here, Nassser makes an idyllic image of early Islamic society, almost a communistic society like Marx and Engels described

(٥٠) V p. 571, In front of Yemeni Ulamas in San'a. 25.4.64, Popular meeting in Aswan on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63; V p. 414, In front of Yemeni delegation in the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63.

(٥١) V, Arab unity day, 22.2.62, "Charter" p. 88; V p. 35-6, 13th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.65; V p. 494, declaration to the Iraqi press delegation in Cairo, 20.2.66; III p. 657-3, Port Said Victory day, 23.12.61; V p. 167.

primitive Christianity. He is almost a utopian because he can be asked where this society ever existed or can exist. But after all, an apologetic ideologist is not a historian.

More than ten times, Nasser said this epigram, "Islam is the law of justice, the law of justice is the law of God." [52]. Here Nasser comes directly to the substance of things. The essence of Islam is justice and the essence of law is justice. Therefore, Justice is Divine. Every measure implementing social justice becomes equal to a Divine law.

Social justice is the natural and Divine relation between rich and poor. Those who have, give to those who have not. All religions, not only Islam, called for social justice. All of them, like Islam, institutionalized the Zakat, sharing one's wealth. Abu Bakr, the first khalif, even made war against those who refused.

Sharing one's wealth is equal to Islam. Zakat aimed to establish social justice and to dissolve class disinctions even through violence. It is 2.5% of individual wealth every year. If man lives and works between 40-50 years, it will provide a big fortune used for the benefit of the community. In Islam there are no poor and handicapped because of this social solidarity [53].

Islam gave the highest example of social practice, Nasser continues. The prophet himself lived poor and died poor. The poet Ahmed Shawki described him as the leader Imam of socialists. He owned nothing. He even

(٥٢)V p. 533, ASU celebrating Suez National day, 22.3.66; V p. 2, Military officers inaugurating their club in Hilmiya, 24.7.62; V p. 217, Alexandria station, in the 10th anniversary of the revolution, 26.7.62; V p. 109, Military academy training day, 25.6.62; V p. 271, 6th victory anniversary, 23.12.62; V p. 312, Popular meeting in Aswan, 3rd Anniversary of the High Dam construction 9.1.63.

(٥٣) V p. 166, ASU parliamentary group, 25. 2.65; III p. 461-2, 9 th Anniversary of the revolution 22.7.61; V p. 312, 3rd anniversary of the High Dam construction, 9.1.63.

died indebted to a Jew. He shared his daily bread with others. He took the rights of the poor from the rich. Afterwards, the Islamic socialist State continued during the period of Abu-Bakr and Omar. It nationalized land and distributed it to the peasants. Feudalist land in Iraq was distributed to poor peasants [(54)].

If social justice is defined as a sufficiency, sufficiency in Islam is based not on material grounds, but on spiritual religious and moral ones [(55)]. Islamic socialism, according to Nasser, is an ethical system rather than economic one. It came out of people's traditions and spiritual heritage.

Islamic ethics are those of work ,which are equal to socialist ethics. That is why Islam prohibited usury. Usury is against work as a value. Money does not generate money by itself, but only through work. That means through effort and sweat. The revolution followed the same type of ethics. It put an end to usury in agricultural loans and gave loans to peasants without usury [(56)].

If religion is work, the prophet himself worked. Religion will never be business. Unfortunately, the clergy made religion business. They worked for whoever paid more. They worked once for feudalists and issued legal

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(٥٤) III p. 461, in the 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61; V p. 414 in front of Yemeni delegation in the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 4, declaration to Iraqi press delegation, 20.2.66; V p. 533 In the USA convention celebrating Suez national day 22.3.66; V p. 563, Interview with Karangiya, 8.5.66; III p. 461, 9th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.61; III p. 607, National convention preparatory committee, 27.11.61; II p. 621-2. 4th session, 29.11.61.

(٥٥) V p. 92, National convention preparatory committee 7th, session, 30.5.62; V p. 356, 13th annivarsary of the revolution 22.7.65.

(٥٦) V p. 414, in front of Yemeni delegation, 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 267, ASU parliamentary group, 28.2.65.

opinions for their benefits. They worked also for capitalists and issued other legal opinions defending private ownership and free economy and prohibiting nationalization. Although Nasser himself used the clergy and paid them, he despised them. They used to sell their legal opinions for filling their stomachs, fed like a goose! [(57)]. Nasser, in order to justify his transitional socialism comes once again to one of his early remarks about graduation in Islamic Law [(58)]. The famous example is the graduation in the prohibition of wine. God prescribed first that wine is harmful as well as useful but more harmful than useful. Then, wine was prohibited only during prayer time because of drunkenness. Finally, wine was absolutly prohibited in all times and all occasions.

When Nasser wanted to make a distinction between his socialism and Marxism Leninism, he went to religious dogma. Nasser's socialism, beside other characteristics, believes in God, while Marxism-Leninism denies Him. The first affirms religion, while the second denies it. That major difference will be used later on after 1970, not for simple distinction, but for discrediting Marxism and all leftist and progressist ideologies [(59)].

(b) Islam and Reaction: In “Islam and Socialism" Nasser defended himself, but this time in Islam and Reaction” Nasser counter-attacked by denouncing the reactionary camp. The best defense is to attack. According to Nasser, religion was used by Arab reaction to dupe the people. The main purpose is to keep people in ignorance in order to usurp easily their wealth. They interpret religion falsely with complete awareness of their falsehood.

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(٥٧) III p. 461, 10th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.62.

(٥٨) II p. 36, Interview with Lebanese magazine Koll Shay, 13.5.62.

(٥٩) V, National convention of popular forces commenting the “Charter" 26.2.62; V p. 82, Declaration to the National Assembly opening session, 21.11.64; V p. 166, Meeting with ASU parliamentary group, 22.2.65.

Yemeni and Saudi reaction pillaged people's wealth. They wanted to cover-up their pillage by religious camouflage. They exploited their people and accumulated money. Their accumulation of wealth did not come surely from work, the Islamic value, but from exploitation, which Islam prohibited. Islam is against accumulation of money or spending it on women- slaves. Under the pretext of defending Islam, they defend their own interests. In Islam, people's wealth is for the people, not for the kings(60).

Nasser attacked traditional religious values like patience and reinterpreted other "disvalues" as values, like atheism. Arab reactionaries asked poor people to be patient, but patience will not last forever. People can be patient for one year but not for two, for five years but not for ten. Patience is not an Islamic value if it means acceptance of usurpation. On the other hand, Atheism is not social equity, because belief in one God requires that all human beings are equals in front of Him.

Atheism is in fact social inequity, that means the denial that all human beings are equals in front of God. Atheism is usurpation, exploitation, class distinctions, capitalism, feudalism and imperialism alliance. Atheism is presented as a women-slave system and illegal polygamy. (61).

Nasser afterwards attacked the head of Arab reaction against the concept of social justice and defended himself against the accusation that he substituted socialism for Islam, and that he had made himself a prophet as

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(٦٠) V p. 419 In front of Yemeni delegation, celebration of the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; V p. 494, Declaration to Iraqi press delegation in Cairo 20.7.66, In the popular meeting in Aswan in the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of High Dam construction, 9.1.63; IV p. 331, popular meeting in 5th anniversary of the Union, 21.2.63.

(٦١) V p. 534 and p. 544, ASU celebrating Suez national day, 213.62; V p. 66 Arab unity anniversary, 22.2.67; 10th anniversary of the revolution, 22.7.62.

Radio Mecca propagated. Nasser considered himself only as a leader, unveiling the pseudo- socio-religious practices of the prince of believers. Arab reactionaries wanted to leave the problem of social justice to be solved in the hereafter, by the help of God! Social justice cannot be left to God as Radio Mecca wanted. Should the Muslims abolish the ministry of justice and leave the strong dominating the weak? Why should Paradise be promissed for the poor only in the hereafter and not in this world? The rich can have their share in Paradise and leave their wealth to the poor in this world. Nasser is more than a dialectician. He is making arguments and ad hominem, as Arab reactionaries had done to him.

Nasser introduced another level of criticism, which is the difference between words and actions. Yemeni Imam was pleased with Shawki poems describing the prophet as the socialist leader, but he did not want socialism to be applied in his country, admiration on the level of words and repugnance on the level of realities [(62)].

Nasser also rejected the charitable socialism offered by Arab reactionaries. Charity as proposed by Radio Mecca is not enough for social justice. The wealth is God's wealth, that means people’s wealth. The people have the right to have their money back, from where it was deposited in Swiss banks in secret number. People's money has to be invested inside the country, not outside.

Nasser rectified the true meaning of socialism against its deformation by Arab reactionaries. Socialism does not mean sharinging women, sons and daughters as Radio Mecca pretended, to frighten the people. Socialism

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(٦٢) II p. 621, National convention of popular forces, 29.11.61; V p 27. Interview to Lebanese Magazine Koll Shay' 13.5.62; III p. 652, Port Said victory day 23.12.61; V p. 6th victory anniversary; V p. 331, Popular meeting celebrating 5th anniversary of the union, 21.2.63; Arab Unity day 22.2.62.

respects family law. It means only sharing one's wealth to realize social justice. People's wealth is in the service of the people. All these definitions are Islamic imperatives.

Nasser attacked Saoud personally, pushing the argument ad hominem to the maximum. Saoud considered himself the Ka'ba protector, although he does not represent Islam. On the contrary, he is profaning the Ka'ba. God protects the Ka'ba and not Saoud. The Royal family in Saudi-Arabia is an insult to Islam. He is a bad representative to Islam in the foreign press, responsible for the image of Islam in the West: slavery, harem, corruption, exuberance, sexism [(63)].

Nasser used no textual arguments. He used only rational evidence, experimental evidence and mass evidence. He could win his battle against Arab reactionaries very easily. His arguments were of content, not of form. His vision of Islam although dialectical (from dialogue) was also a vision of content, not of form.

Besides, all the State machinery came to help. The Islamic Research council approved limits of ownership in Islam and gave the head of the State the right of nationalization, once private ownership goes against the common interests of the community. Islam prohibits absolute ownership and confiscates the wealth of the community. Islam prohibits landholding without investment. Islam prohibits also the accumulation of big land ownership in few hands, leaving the majority of the people landless. Otherwise, wealth will be stored in a few hands, with dangers of monopoly and exploitation. The Council issued a legal opinion giving political authority the right to interfere in ownership if it damages common interests. Unjust and suspicious wealth has to be given back to its real owner.

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(٦٣) V p. 271, 6th, victory anniversary, 23.12.62; V p. 312 and p. 318 popular meeting in Aswan, 3rd anniversary of High Dam construction, 9.1.63.

Otherwise, it will be confiscated by the State. Political authority has the right to impose taxation for the common benefit [64].

All writers followed Nasser in his religious justification of Arab socialism, defending himself and counter-attacking his opponents. Several apologetic books were written after 1962 about "Islam and Socialism."[65].Almost in every book on socialism there was a chapter on Islamic socialism or the basis of socialism in Islamic and spiritual heritage[66]. Religious leaders entered the battle as well as academicians and journalists, and wrote about Islam and Marxism [67]. Many of them were professors in Al-Azhar, members in the High Council of Islamic Research, or members of Ulamas High Council. Most of the monthly reviews by the Ministry of Culture or Ministry of Endowments published many articles on Islam and socialism [68].

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(٦٤) Al-Ahram, 10.3.64, Ibid, 6.4.64.

(٦٥) Al-Douri: Socialist method in the light of Islam, Khanki, 1963; A. Farrage, Islam: Religion of Socialism, Al-Dar Al-Kawmiya, 1961; Abdel Majid Said Islam and Intellectual Origins of Arab Socialism, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1962. Ahmed Al-Sharkawi, Socialist Principles in Islam, Al-dar Al-Kawmiya. Al-Hamshari, Religion for Socialism, Islamic services, 1967.

(٦٦) N.H. Sadawi, Arab Socialism and Socialist Revolution, 2nd chapter, Islamic Socialism, p. 21-39; Y. Heweidi, Philosophy in the Charter, p. 119-301 Abdel Rahman Noseir, Social Justice, Religion and Ethics, p. 2-5.

(٦٧) M. Arafa, member of Ulemas High Council, Islam or Communism? Dar Al-Katib Al-Arabi, A. Al-Sharabasi (Professor Al-Azhar) Religoion and the Charter. Dar Al-Kawmiya, 1965. M. Al-Rafi'I, Islam is a Human System, High Council of Islamic Affairs, Islam preaching Committee.

(٦٨) F. Zakaria, Socialism and Spiritual Values, Al-fikr El-Mu'asir, no 56 October 1969; T. Al-Bishri, Al-Azhar Between the Palace and National Movement, Al Katib, Al Salili, Right and Left in Islam, Al-Katib; F. Mansour, Islamic Interpretation to Islam, No Social Classes in Islam, al-Tali'a; M.A. Khalafalla,

Even the mass-media, Radio and Television, entered the battle, and broadcasted many programs on the same subject [69].. Nasser initiated the battle, writers and artists followed. None of them entered the battle before. Sayed Qutb, who wrote "Social Justice in Islam" in 1951, before the revolution, was jailed in 1954 and hanged in 1965! Nasser died and Sadat came. The same writers participated in the process of Denasseriztion. They have always followed the standing political authority. Employees of the State were frightened by the loss of their daily bread. They were ready to justify whatever they were asked to do. A religious vanguard did not appear.

E. Islamic Pact (1965)

The existence of Egypt in the center of an Islamic circle was one of the permanent policies in the Egyptian revolution. The third circle gives security to the two other famous circles in “Philosophy of the Revolution", and the largest theoretical part- a Muslim world with whom Egypt is bound through religious dogmas and historical realities [70]. No wonder that Islamic heritage, threatened by the Mongols who swept Islamic capitals, was conserved in Egypt. Egypt was able to stop the Mongol invasion in Ein-Galout. The Arab

Democracy in Islamic Law, Al-Tali'a; M. Al-Medani, Islamic Socialism, Al-Azhar Review. Nov. 61; A. Al-Sharabasi, Taxation in Islam, lbid, 12.62, 1.63. Islam Religion of Equity, Liwa'al-Islam, 11.62; A. Al-Rafi'i, Islamic Socialism, Nur Al-Islam 12.62. 1.63; A.S. Al-Masri, Islamic Economics; Manber Al-Islam 12.63. UC. Al-Tantami, Socialism in Islam, ibid, 12.63; M.A. Abu-Rayan, Islam and Socialist Systems. ibid, 12.63; A. Al-Nimr, Between Arab Socialism and Islamic Socialism, lbid, 2; Al-Bahay Al-Khuli, Islam and Social Solidarity, Ibid, 6.62. A.K.Abu Al-Magd, Human Meaning in Islam, lbid, 6.62; M. Ghalab: Islam and Principles of Social Organization, lbid, 12.67; M.A Al-Gindi, Relations Between Work, and Faith in Islam. ibid II, pp. 74.

(٦٩) Symposium on Islam, Religion and Socialism, many songs on the same subject.

(٧٠) Philosophy of Revolution. p. 69-70.

circle itself is intermingled with religion. Islamic centers multiplied and changed sites from Mecca to Kufa and finally to Cairo. Answering a question of Robert Steve, political correspondent of the Observer about Egypt as center of three circles: the Arab world, the Muslim World and Africa, and whether this concept had changed after the increasing number of the non-aligned States and after the changing situation in Africa, and whether Islam is still believed to play an important role in peoples of Asia and Africa, Nasser replied that this Islamic role is still going on and very active. If relations between Egypt and India appeared stronger than the relation between Egypt and Iran, the difference between the Egyptian and Iranian governments cannot prevent the good relation between Muslim people in Egypt and Muslim people in Iran. International relations, with its requirements, has nothing to do with sympathy between peoples adopting the same religion. Answering another question, whether there was any progress in the concept of the three circles, Nasser replied that there was always progress. Inter-Arab relations were better. Egypt sent missions to Muslim States. All Muslims see Jerusalem as a holy city. [71].

There is no opposition between the three circles. There is no opposition between Arab Nationalism and Islamic solidarity. The Arab Nation, with its revolutionary and progressive powers, does not consider Islam as an obstacle to evolution, but on the contrary, it sees Islam as an impulse towards that evolution. The Arab nation, with its revolutionary and progressive powers, does not see Islam as a barrier preventing its solidarity with Islamic nations. Centers of struggle anywhere strengthen each other. The struggle of the Arab Nation is a part of the struggle of the Muslim nation. The National "Charter"

(٧١) V p. 513, Unity day, 22.2.66.

did not concentrate on Islamic ties. The purpose was the socialist construction in Egypt. However, the "Charter" mentioned briefly all the three circles. [72].

There are 80 million Muslims in Indonesia, 50 million in China, several million in Malaysia, Siam and Burma, almost 100 Million in Pakistan and more than 100 million in the Middle East, 40 Million inside the Soviet Union and other millions in different places on the Globe. Cooperation among all of them, without forgetting their own nationalities, creates unlimited power. [73].

Nasser conceived Islamic unity as spiritual rather than political. He accepted particular nationalism and national loyalty, which is rejected by Islamic fundamentalism, represented by another religious trend, namely the Muslim Brothers. His concept was more a personal experience, a wishful thought or an idea of the mind rather than a theoretical concept or an Islamic Ideology.

Nasser considered pilgrimage as a unifying factor for all Muslims, praying towards the same Kibla and performing the same prayer. Pilgrimage can unify Muslims and can bind them with strong relations. Going to Mekka is not a permit to enter Paradise after long life, nor an absolution card to buy Divine forgiveness after a troublesome life, but a big political power. The international press has to cover it extensively, not as ritualistic forms and nice pictures, but as the annual international conference where all Muslim leaders, Ulamas, thinkers and writers meet. Even industrialists, merchants and businessmen can meet to form a certain kind of high Islamic parliament and to plan their common future. They meet humbly in faith but strong in

(٧٢) VII p. 69-70, Interview with S.L. Sulzberger, Chief editor of New York Times, 26.2.67; VI p. 130, Reception honoring Muritanian President, 27.3.67, IV p. 85, 5th session, the "Charter" p. 123.

(٧٣) III p. 85, 5th, session. 28.5.62.

power, fulfilling their mission on this earth. This is the true wisdom of pilgrimage.

Nasser wanted to politicize the Islamic revolution, looking for alliances. Islamic conferences followed.

After 1970, Nasserist terminology continued as pure rhetoric. Islam was characterized as a progressive religion which unites all the Muslim peoples. The Islamic message is a holy one, a call for freedom everywhere, against the exploitation of a people by another or of a human being by another. It calls for equity and social justice. Islam in its very nature is against imperialism, feudalist privileges and capitalist exploitation. The Arab Nation is fond of its Islamic heritage and considers it one of its major sources of energy. In its aspiration to progress it rejects all effots of interpreting Islam as a conservative religion, as a limitation to human energy. Islam is a motivation for progress, a futuristic religion, and in complete harmony with people's needs for social, economic, political and cultural freedom. [(74)].

After 1970, in spite of Islamic appearances, reference to the three circles became less and less. Answering a question about his evaluation of the Islamic conference held in Benghazi and about Islamic society in general, Sadat reiterated the three circles. Hassan Al-Tahawi, a Minister and President's advisor was elected secretary general of the Islamic conference. The purpose of the conference was defined as a struggle against fanaticism and violence. Israel was alluded to as a neighboring country based on religion and social fanaticism. Sadat wanted to hit two birds with the same stone. He alluded to Israel, but his main purpose was internal violence and fanaticism represented, according to him, by political and religious opposition, the left accused of violent practices and Muslim Brothers

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(٧٤) Speech to the Nation, 23.7.77, p. 53; IV p. 17 and p. 43-4, Speech in Rabat 23.1.74; In Islamic summit labor, 23.2.74; In a press conference, New Delhi, 25.2.74.

accused of religions fanaticism. [75]. Moreover, the conference was conceived as a meeting of heads of States rather than peoples' unity. That meant alliances between the tops. Sadat himself was appointed secretary general for the Islamic conference many times. He went to Madrid several times at the head of Egyptian delegations. He took the occasion to prove his Islamic faith from the early days of the revolution [76]. The first Islamic conference was held in 1955, headed by Sadat himself.

Islamic solidarity also appeared through conferences of Muslim Ulamas, under the control of Muslim States. The Ulamas always gave the official version of Islam, dictated to them by political regimes. The Ulamas educate the people. give them advise and call for the liberation of the holy places. They represent the voice of 600 million Muslims.

Sadat mentioned only historical and spiritual ties between Muslim countries. 'Ukba ben Nafi', the Tunisian Muslim hero, founded Kairawan city as a center for Islamic Learning in North Africa. Bourguiba continued the same message of the first hero! Faisal also died as martyr. "Think not of those who are slain in God's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord" (3:169).

The two leaders considered by Nasser as agents of imperialism were seen by Sadat as Muslim heros. Egypt has also its spiritual ties with all Muslim States. It sent free religious and educational missions to all Muslim countries.

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(٧٥) III p. 186, Interview with the International Journalist Maria Nkovitch , 27.5.73; IV p. 432-3, To Islamic conference Kualalampur, 23.6.74; III p. 88, Speech in front of National Congress ASU, special session, 16.2.73.

(٧٦) II p. 209, Banquet offered by Tunisian President honoring Sadat, 6.5.72. On the occasion of king Faisal's death, 25.3.75,

Sadat talked many times about Islamic solidarity, more theoretical than practical. He repeated the same slogans staying on the level of words, without any content or implementation of these slogans into policies. Most of these speeches were toasts in front of Muslim heads of State or messages sent to Islamic conferences. For example, Egypt and Pakistan were tied together through Islam. Political differences between the two countries were artificial. Pakistan supported Egypt during the triparty aggression. The same Islamic ties exist between Egypt and Mauritania, through cultural history and religious missions, the largest one to be educated in Al-Azhar [(77)]. Sadat supported his views by scriptural arguments calling for unity and solidarity, without giving any spatiotemporal interpretation of Qur'anic verses like: "verily this Brotherhood of yours is a simple Brotherhood and I am your Lord." (21:92) or "And verily this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood and I am your Lord, fear me" (23:52).

Sadat quoted the Qur'an in his own way. He mentioned the half of the Qur'anic verse and left the other half. For example, he mentioned the famous verse, "You were the best of people evolved for mankind," without mentioning the reason, "enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong" (3:110). He mentioned also "Do not be sad and you are the higher" without mentioning! "Do not be weak" (3:139) which calls for struggle and action.

One deformed aspect of Islamic ties was the Islamic pact. The idea of the pact began in 1955 as the Baghdad pact, and continued by Eisenhower and Saoud in 1957 as the Islamic pact. Saoud wanted to sell it to Egypt as "political conference through pilgrimage" because of the Baghdad pact in

(vv) People's Assembly special session, 14.3.76 p. 20; VI p. 130, Reception honoring Mauritanian President 27.3.76; VII p. 27, People's Assembly, new session 20.169; I p. 211-3, In Islamic Research Council; III p. 314, message to the 7th Islamic thought meeting in Algeria, 10.7.73; III p. 369072, message to Islamic Conference, Indonesia, 10. 12.75.

1955. An Islamic conference would not have been held without being connected to Imperialism. It would have worked for the benefit of Islam and Muslims and for the establishment of social Justice. After the adherence of Turkey and Iran to the Baghdad pact, it was impossible to have an Islamic conference. The Egyptian revolution chose the implementation of the conference on a popular base. Any approachment between the tops had to begin with cooperation between those who struggled for their freedom against Imperialism and zones of influence. Every State is left to implement its Islamic relations as it can, without a common and unified policy. Faisal made the analogy between Christian Councils and the Islamic pact, although the first is purely religious, while the second is political. The first is made by religious leaders, while the second is composed from heads of States. The real Islamic solidarity, for Nasser, is between peoples against Imperialism. Arab peoples are capable of knowing when religion is served and when it is used. The Egyptian revolution was ready to make a conference for religious leaders inside Al-Azhar in Cairo, in the prophet's home in Mecca, in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, or inside the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Nasser's arguments were weak ones. In Islam there is no distinction between religion and politics. A religious leader is also a political leader. (Ahl-al-Hall Wa-al Aqd) are religious leaders with political power. Nasser wanted religious leaders to take care of religion and political leaders to take care of politics. Islam in fact unifies this World and the other World. If Nasser wanted to politicize, showing socialism in Islam, here he wanted to depoliticize religion against its politicization by Arab reactionaries. If Nasser had already recognized the corruption of religious leaders, how could he expect anything useful from them? Nasser's comparison between the Islamic conference and the Christian Council is a traditional one, more Christian than Islamic. In Islam there is no religious authority and Christianity gives to Cesar what is to Cesar and to God what is to God. Nasser had no concept of

Islam and revolution. He conceived Islam according to the needs of occasions, without being aware of his contradictory positions.

Nasser wanted to neutralize the opposition between Arab progressive countries and Arab reactionary countries through Arab summit policies. But Arab reaction did not accept the compromise and wanted to counter-attack. Faisal also used summits to implement his American policy and defend his Islamic pact.

The real purpose of the Islamic pact was not to defend Islam and to strengthen Islamic ties, but to hit Arab Nationalism. The British Daily Telegraph confessed in 18.1.66 that King Faisal had led a revivalist Islamic movement to hit Arab Nationalism. As long as the Middle East is a closed shop from Arab countries, Cairo will always and undoubtedly be its political capital and a center of attraction. The Islamic pact changes the situation and gives another center of attraction. Islamic feelings in the Middle East have more weight than Arab Nationalism. The Times said in 15.7.66 that the real purpose of the pact is not social or economic but political. The number of conservative States in the pact will make a balance with Arab liberated states. "Le Monde Diplomatique" asked also in 16.7.66 whether Islam as slogan will be able to destroy progressive power in the Arab world. Antony Noting, the previous British secretary of State, said in 1957 that after the failure of the Suez expedition in 1956, the only way to deal with Arab Nationalism is to form an Islamic community to absorb narrow-minded Arab Nationalism in a wideer doctrine shared by Arabs, Turks, Iranians, and Pakistanis. They will forget their nationalism and think only of Islam. Only then, the West can deal with them. According to imperialistic powers and reactionary Arab states, progressive powers in the Arab world became tired from struggle and there were differences of opinion among them. The road became open for a new Imperialism to put Arab countries within a new pact, taking Islam as a cover to the Baghdad pact. An Arab name and an Islamic

turban were two veils under which America and Britain tried to hide. But the main purpose was to get rid of Arab Nationalism, which had become the ideology of Arab people, which could liberate them from Western Imperialism and zones of influence, and which would realize for them Arab unity. Imperialism allyed itself to Arab reaction, fearing an Arab revolutionary trend threatening their interests and oil monopoly, and fearing socialism threatening their systems. Religion was used as a cover-up to realize imperialistic and reactionary aims, namely keeping their influence and its pillage of Arab national work. The Islamic pact is a conspiracy against the Arab revolutionary movement, against non-aligned countries. It is an agglomeration of all reactionary powers in collaboration with Imperialism, as a last defensive line against the revolutionary trend in the Arab World. Those who called for it were Saudi-Arabia, Iran, and Tunis, Saoud, the Shah and Bourguiba, agents of Imperialism in the Middle East. Hussein of Jordan joined them. Saudi-Arabia was responsible for its organization. Conspiracies against Syria and Iraq began [78].

Spiritual ties between Muslim countries are made for the sake of God and for the benefit of Islam, not as result of American British policy. Some Muslim States entered in the name of Islamic ties and became allied to the West. The Islamic pact is one of these pseudo-Islamic ties inherited from the Baghdad pact, including Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. Islam was used to support alignment to the West against the Egyptian revolution policy of non-alignment. For Nasser, Islam is against Western domination. Islam calls for freedom of the people and independence of the State, outside zones of influence. A real Islamic pact cannot take orders from London or Washington. It is easy then to conclude that Arab reactionary heads of States were American agents, covered by a religious mask, and that the Islamic pact was purely political under the cover of religion. Faisal pretended that

(٧٨) V p. 510-1, Arab unity day, 22.2.66.

the idea came from him, for the sake of God, although it came from the Americans controlling oil wealth. Imperialism decided, after being dismissed from the Middle East, to come under the cover of the Islamic pact, Islamic solidarity and Islamic conference. Most of the Muslim countries refused the idea or discouraged it. (79).

Islam is a revolution. Peoples need Islamic solidarity. So a true Islamic pact would conserve this purpose, not political and social exploitation. Ulamas can work from religious centers, and not as agents of political commissioners and fanatics. Faisal pretended that the purpose of the pact was struggle against Atheism. How could Atheism be stopped through politics and not through religion? The Islamic pact is essentially political, not religious. The religious community is composed of religious leaders, not political ones. Who will oppose Atheism in the Muslim world? The Shah who knows nothing about Islam or Bourguiba who shortened ('Ids) holidays to one day and who permitted breaking the fast? Nasser's arguments may not have been strong because the holidays issue and breaking the fast for the sake of work were based on legal opinions based and legal sources (80).

One of the pact purposes was the acceptance of Israel within Arab countries. Arab Nationalism rejects Israel, but the Islamic pact will accept its existence. Iran and Turkey already admitted the existence of the Zionist State. What will Palestine gain from a pact under British and American supervision and adopted by the Shah and Bourguiba, who called for the recognition of Israel? The Islamic pact wanted to weaken Arab unified

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(٧٩) IV p. 65,85, 5th session, 28.5.62; V p. 510-12, Unity day 22.2.66; V p. 598-600 Popular meeting in Damanhour 15.6.66; VI p. 35, Interview with Arab Journalists, 4.7.67; VI p. 41 Interview with the Observer, 5.2.67; VI p. 64 Arab Unity day, 22.2.67; VI p. 157, Labor day celebration in Shubra Al-Kheima, 2.5.67.

(٨٠) Speech 23.7.66, p. 13; V p. 513, Labor day, 22.2.66; V p. 532 Suez National Day ASU celebration, 22.3.66.

command against Israel and to weaken the Palestine entity and the Palestine liberation army. No wonder that Israel defended the Islamic pact and considered Nasser against it because it threatended his leadership in the area. The Islamic pact could not be conceived against

Israel, as Arab reaction pretended, because it was conceived by Imperialism, reaction and Israel. The three worked together. The pact could have served Palestine, if Iran would have cut oil supplies to Elat. The Arab Socialist Union organized many conferences and symposia to descredit the Islamic pact in support of Nasser. After 1970, Faisal became one of the most sincere Leaders for the Arab cause and Muslim World, and a symbol of Islamic Brotherhood and Arab solidarity. The situation had changed. The Egyptian regime became allied to the Saudi regime and Divine Brotherhood appeared. (81).

F. Return to Faith 1967

The last battle where religion appeared as a defensive weapon was that of return to faith. It began shortly after the defeat of 1967 and continued till now, as if the last three years in Nasser's life were indicators of what happened in an obnoxious way under Sadat. Indeed, the "Charter" spoke of five guarantees for revolutionary action—- the will to change, the revolutionary vanguard, deep consiousness, open thought and unshaken faith in God and His holy messages sent to mankind, carrying truth and guidance in every time and space. The fifth guarantee became first after the defeat and after Nasser's death, the only guarantee left. A similar phrase appeared in the "Charter," saying that the Egyptian people has a strong faith in God and in itself ,which made it able to impose its will on life and formulate it according to its hopes. This phrase became the symptom of the whole period from the

(٨١) Speech in 23.7.66, p. 10-2 Missions conference, 11.8.66; V p. 531 Suez' National Day ASU celebration, 22.3.66; VI p. 143 Air force advanced command, 22.5.67; ASU 3rd, anniversary, 22.7.66; In Faisal's death, p. 137.

1967 defeat till now. Through faith, people had resisted in Suez. The enemy destroyed mosques and churches, but all was rebuilt, thanks to the people. Faith became the secret word solving anything [82].

The faith of the people made him accept the defeat as his predestination. “Say: "Nothing will happen to us except what God has decreed for us.” (9:51). It is a part of mass tradition through thousands of years. “0 God, Lord of Power and Rule, Thou givest power to whom thou pleasest, and thou strippest of power from whom thou pleasest. Thou enduest with honor whom Thou pleasest, and Thou bringest law whom Thou pleasesr. Verily over all things, Thou hast power. (3:76) [83].

Faith is also that of death. The life of every person is determined sharply by God. Faith will bring victory. Faith makes us sacrifice. The moral orientation program of the army took a religious turn. Lack of faith was considered the reason for defeat. Faith xenophobia appeared after 1973 as the way to victory. Miracles even happened. The prophet and the angels crossed the Canal! Nasser began this faith discourse but Sadat went through with it. He was crazy with faith, having nothing else to say [84].

Religious (Redda) reached the point of fatalism. Military defeats were decided by God in his Eternity. Each nation in history was defeated. Defeat was the destiny of every nation. It was bigger than Egypt. Asked about his extraordinary gift of transforming defeat into victory, Nasser replied that he is

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(٨٢) The “Charter,” p. 10, p. 134. Declaration to the Nation, 28.9.70. III p. 288, Alexandria University 26.7.73; III p. 345 People's Assembly extraordinary session, 16.10.73; People's Assembly special session, 14.3.76, p. 82;

(٨٣) I p. 249-50, Labor day, 1.5.71; I p. 324, People's Assembly, 20.5.71; II p. 173-6, Prophet's birthday, 15.4.72.

(٨٤) VI p. 355-8, In Palestinian and Algerian forces on the fire line, 11.3.68; VI p. 450, In front military forces explaining March 30th declaration, 25.4.68. VI p. 348, In military forces, 10.3.68; VII p. 127, labor day, Helwan, 1.5.69.

a fatalist. Changing realities needed work, patience and energy, impossible to have without believing in Divine Predistination and Justice! The President accepted pain and suffering and believed in Divine justice, which will come in the proper moment. He mentioned the famous Qur'anic verse interpreted by the mystics in a deterministic way, "when thou threwest, it was not thy act, but God (8:17). The same acceptance of Divine will appeared in the March 30 declaration, in which the psychology of defeat became an ideology of victory. The will of truth because it is a part of the will of God, is superior to every other truth [85].

The same fatalism continued after 1970 and in a nasty way. Nasser died by the destiny of God! Nobody could counter Divine will. Faith meant only the acceptance of Divine Predestination and the acceptance of defeats and disasters as temptations from God to His believers. Everything comes from God, defeat and victory, guidance and misguidance. Only God knows and does. Sadat mentioned similar verses, interpreted in a fatalistic way, like "Say nothing will happen to us except what has God decreed for us" (9:51). "They were covered with humiliation and misery (2:61) "Nor can a soul die except by God's leave, the term being fixed as by writing" (3:145). The will of the nation comes from the will of God. The will of the nation is the voice of God. Trust in God comes before trust in the self. God realizes, believes, hopes and guides them to the right path[86]. God guides the people and gives

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(٨٥) I p. 235, labor day, 1.5,71; II p. 332-5, ASU National Convention opening session 1972, II p. 118, ASU National Convention, special session 1972; IV p. 599 letter to Dr. Hegazzi on the occasion of his nomination as prime minister, 25.9.74; IV p 618, Nasser's 4th, memorial, 28.9.74; IV p. 778, To African students, 1.11.74; IV p. 749 To secondary and technical schools students 12.12.74, Nasser's 7th, memorial, 28.9.77, p. 11 -5.

(٨٦) VI p. 582-3 General National convention extraordinary session, 13.12.68; VII p. 70-1, Interview with S.L. Sulzberger, New York Times Chief Editor 26.2.69; Al-Ahram, 3.2.69; VI p. 27, People's Assembly extraordinary session, =

them victory as He did in the October war when soldiers shouted God is great". God gives power and decision. He builds and he gives everything on Earth (87).

Sadat supported this concept of God as pillar of the Universe, using lot of scriptural arguments like "Our Lord, in Thee we trust, and to Thee do we turn in repentance; to Thee is our final Goal" (60:4) "God rewards and punishes, That God may reward the men of truth for their truth" (33:34) Sadat twisted the verses from human action to Divine guidance, like "And say work, soon God will observe your work and his Apostle and the Believers" (9:105) which was repeated many times but meant Divine preservation rather than human action. The famous verse of the Trust, "We did indeed offer the Trust to the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains. But they, refused to undertake it, being afraid thereof. But man undeertook it" (33:72) was interpreted not as a human vocation on earth but rather a Divine call to man as the Qur'anic verse calling for learning, "Read in the name of they Lord and Cherisher who created, created man out of a dot of congealed blood. Read and thy Lord is most Beautiful. He who taught with the pen, taught man that which he knew not" (96:105) (88).

= 23.11.67; VII, People's Assembly new session, 20.1.69; VII p. 337. citizens committee working for the battle, first meeting 11.4.70. March 30 th, declaration, p. 31.

(٨٧) Declaration to the Nation, 28.9.70; I p. 49-51, general national convention special session, 13.11.70; I p. 303, To Al-Azhar 16.5.71; III p. 194 American Troops evacuation from Libya, 3rd anniversary, 11.6.73; III p. 296 7th non-alignment conference, Algeria, 6.9.73; V p.75 literature and generations symposium, 31.1.75; V p. 148, People's Assembly. 19.3.70; V p. 18. Interview, 25.3.75; III p. 323, Nasser's death memorial, 28.9.73.

(٨٨) I p. 303, In Al-Azhar Ulamas, 16.5.71; II p. 401, People's Assembly ordinary session, 15.10.72; III p. 329. Labor day, 1.10,73; V p. 276. Declaratation to = = the Nation 29.4.74; 23 July anniversary, Alexandria Univesity, 27.7.74; Declaration to the nation, 14.4.75; To People's Assembly, 14.5.75.

Sadat used other scriptual arguments to implore benediction and guidance. God is the giver and man is the receiver. For example "Our Lord, bestow on us mercy from They self and dispose of our affair for us in the right way," (18:10). Victory comes from God, "There is no help except from God"(3:126).

Qur'anic verses which gave an equal share between Divine will and human will were reinterpreted in order to abolish the human share and maintain absolute Divine will, like "God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause)" (22:40) or "If you will aid (the cause of) God, He will aid you and plant your feet firmly" (47:7) or, "If God helps you, no one can overcome you" (3:160). Sometimes, Sadat mentions the whole verse to give the religious atmosphere to recite at length in front of the people and to touch the masses' religious feelings, like "Ye who believe, If ye will aid (the cause of) God, He will aid you and plant your feet firmly. But those who reject (God), for them is destitution, and (God) will render their deeds astray. That is because they hate the revelation of God. So, He has made their deeds fruitless. Do they not travel through the earth and see what was the end of those before them? God brought destitution on them and similar (fates wait) those who reject God. That is because God is the Protector of those who believe, but those who reject God have no protection" (47:7-11) [89].

Sadat used lot of scriptual arguments, whether in the middle of his speeches or at the end, to prove that God is immune and that He has

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(٨٩) General national convention, 13.11.70; II p. 332, ASU National convetion, closing session, 7.4.71; I p. 385, ASU national convention, 2nd, session, People's Assembly, 1st anniversary of 14/15 May 72; III p. 101 In front of joint = = convetion, central committee and People's Assembly, 26.3.73; People's Assembly, extraordinary session, 16.10.73; message to professional unions convention, 2.5.73; IV p. 434, Message to Islamic conference, Kualalampur 23.6.74; To youth, 22.10.74; People's Assembly new session, 23.10.74.

everything. Sadat was expressing a common belief from the mass-culture, inherited from Ash'arism. For example "Blessed be He in whose hands is domination." And "He over all things hath power. He who created death and life, that He may try which of you is best indeed." And "He is the exalted in might, off forgiving". (67-1). Sadat usually opened his speeches by epigrams, surrendering everything to God like, "God is the guide…Thanks to God…if God wills…in the name of God".

Nasser used only "Brother citizens" in the beginning and "peace on you" at the end, without these religious epigrams phobia [(90)].

As God became the only Actor and giver, He was also the only pillar and foundation. Martyr's souls are alive and happy with God. Responsibility is in front of God, work is for God, the leader fears God before he fears the people. His consciousness is awake in front of God, before being in front of the people Dependence is on God first before it is on the people. Asking is from God and imploring is to God [(91)]. Learning is from God, worshipping is to God.

The vertical line between man and God took over the horizontal line between man and society. Upward and downward movement

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(٩٠) IV p. 315-25, To Libyan revolutionary council. 7.5.74; IV p. 367. The 3rd, army, 4.6.74; IV p. 497-8, 22nd anniversary of the revolution, 23.7.74; IV p. 543 To Libyan President and revolutionary council members, 31.7.74; ASU March 76, p. 68; ASU national convention special session, p. 89. Air Forces, March 76.

(٩١) I p 173, Declaration to the nation, 14.5.71; I p. 309, Police officers. 17.5.71; I p. 425, Declaration to the Nation, 30.8.71;I p.460, Decaration to the nation 16.9.71; = = I p. 481-2, Nasser's 1st memorial 28.9.71; II p. 22, speech to the nation, 13.1.72; II p. 190, Labor day 1.5.72; II p. 241, People's Assembly, 15.5.72; II p. 261 To injured fighters in Invalides educational center, 14.5.72; II p. 328, Alexandria University 27.7.72; II p. 386, science day, 1972; II p. 401, People's Assembly, 2nd ordinary session, 15.10.72; III p. 75 Declaration to the Nation, 26.3.73.

appeared instead of forward and backward movement. Sadat's Islam and mysticism took over Nasser's Islam and socialism. Mystical values appeared very clearly, like gratitude, thanksgiving, theosophy. God gives from his Grace. Mystical recitations appeared in political speeches. Religious applications put the people in a religious atmosphere, like "God give them victory, give us wisdom and courage to realise the Trust and dignity in our Land, to defend out right, you are the Lord of dignity, the Lord of Truth, dominator of your creatures". Sadat asked benedictions like "God bless your revolution and your leadership. God bless your Sudan, great, slide, honorable and strong. He ends in a religious quest, like "I ask God, the very high to make this union a stable state and to give us wisdom and guidance, He is the best Master and the best helper". Sadat almost prays, whether in religious occasions or otherwise, like, "Victory for us through martyrdom and heroism together on the purest of lands and the highest of holinesses. God, enlighten our reasons with guidance, fill our hearts with hope, make out certitude the best, be with us once we are holding our right, with all our strength and strong will. God, you know what we hide and what we expose. Nothing can be hidden from you on Earth or in Heavens, guide us, help us, you are the best Master and the best helper".

All these mystical prayers to cover his shaky and unpopular regime [(92)]. ! Prayers became personal, like, "God, I spent days in my

(٩٢) I p. 198, Declaration to the nation, 7.3.71; I p. 204, To Sudanese Peoples, 28.3.7; I p. 225, Declaration of UAR, 17.4.7; I p. 257-9, Prophet's birthday celebration, 6.5.71; I p. 416-22, ASU national convention 2nd, session, 23.7.7; II p. 173-6, Prophet's birthday, 15.4.72; October paper p. 43; III p. 345. People's Assembly, extraordinary session, 11.10.73.

life and now is the day. Make this once more good and less evil, make it right not wrong, make it begin and end with sincerity to you". Sadat thought that this way he could have a quiet soul, saying the Qur'anic verse, "0 soul, interest and satisfaction, come back thou to thy Lord, well pleased and well pleasing to him. Enter thou among my devotees, yea, enter thou my Heaven".

Sadat even transformed active values to passive ones. The Jihad had a general meaning which was not specified as struggle against the enemy, namely holy war. It meant struggle for learning, for social services and even for rituals. He supported his passive interpretation with some weak sayings of the prophet, like “Whoever struggles in the way of God is like that one who fasts and does not break his fast or stop his prayer before coming back," or like, "Whoever travels to learn he is struggling in the way of God till he comes back", or like, "Whoever helps the widow or the poor is like that one who struggles in the way of God". Sadat also mentioned some Qur'anic verses, exhalting for learning and not for doing, like "God will raise up to ranks those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge" (58:11) [93].

Socialist values, like justice and equity, were transformed into other values of competition. Earn as you wish and pay taxes. There were no limits for earnings. The only vision was that of the balance, as explained in "our Democratic socialism", balance between this world and the other world, between material and spiritual, between individual and social. Mass struggle for social justice was viewed as extremism, Marxism and communism. Stable values, like that of balance, are a part of the ruling middle class which wants to keep the status quo in order to

(٩٣) I p. 133-4, popular meeting, Assiut, 11.1.71, On democratic socialism, p. 23-7.

keep its own privileges. The value of balance is like the value of law and order.

Patience is a result of fatalism. Those who are patient are only those who believe in predestination. They will wait without fear or impatience till Divine justice comes. Faith is also connected with patience. Both can transform dafeat into victory. Although patience in Islam is that of the strong believer and connected with work, patience in Sadat's jargon was unconditional. He used it to justify the incapacity of movement and of not solving the national problem. Sadat even recited some Qur'anic verses on patience like! "And no one will be granted such goodness except those who exercise patience and self-restraint, none but persons of the greatest good fortune" (41:35)

In the early days of the revolution, patience was connected with struggle, supported by other kinds of Qur'anic verses, like "ye who believe! Preserve in patience and constancy and in such perseverance; strenghthen each other and fear God, that ye may prosper" (3:200) [(94)].

Several other passive values were propagated by Sadat like, tolerance, love, soul's bounty, and mercy. In fact these values, so passive in appearance, betrayed an agressive desire and a violent temper. All bloody leaders were afraid of blood!

After 1970, faith was seen as the only code of ethics. Those who have no faith are not righteous. That was the argument used by political authority to fire political opposition from mass media, universities, functions in the State, and planning centers. In reality, faith does not automatically produce righteousness. Faith can be a

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(٩٤) I p. 335, People's Assembly, 20.5.70; II p. 173-6, Prophet's birthday celebration, 25.4.7; V p. 133-4, To Islamic Conference in Lagos, 23.3.75; To 3rd army heros, March 76.9.75, October paper p. 5.

cover up for dishonesty and fraud. "Democratic socialism" followed Sadat's epigram, "No place for an Atheist in the mass-media", and made itself one philosophy which denies Atheism, affirms religion and which proves religion's role in history. Religion in Egypt was a permanent factor in its culture in all periods of history. Foreign ideologies did not succeed in this religious milieu. On the contrary, it pushed the youth towards religious extremism [(95)].

Religion was seen as the correct guide for each man and for each person, which gives him the power to distinguish between the legal and illegal. Religion gives the right norms of human action. Without religion, there will be no more measure for human behavior. This Ash'arite concept comes from the mass-culture and is defended by the power elite because it permits religious tutorship, which itself permits political tutorship. Reason was considered as incapable of conceiving what is right and what is wrong [(96)].

Religious consciousness, according to Nasser, prevented superstition, religious business and atheism. Religious leaders must not make their catechism only in mosques, but they have to go to the countryside and to popular districts in urban areas to preach. They are paid for a serious job. In the early days of the revolution, many people asked the revolutionary elite to issue a law prohibiting miny-jups, because "God persuades through political power rather than he does through the Qur'an". Nasser rejected this because of the individual freedom of every citizen. The police cannot be the guardian of good ethics. Religious education is left to every father of the family. That

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(٩٥) Democratic Socialism. Universities High Council, Tanta University opinion, p. 102-4, p. 1.26.

(٩٦) IV p. 413-4, in Alexandria Univeristy on the 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63.

proves that religion was an individual matter in the power elite's perception. It did not have its social aspects, except after Arab reactionary attacks against Nasser's socialism [97].

The quarrel of faith and atheism began in Nasser's time, against the Syrian regime accused by Nasser of being an atheistic one, while the Egyptian people is a believing one. Nasser was replying to B'athist criticism, saying that Nasser's philosophy of revolution contained no doctrine, because it was based on rotten religious ideas. The Egyptian people, Christian as well as Muslim, according to Nasser, hold their religion because religion for them is the right track. The power elite is also religious. That is why the revolution succeeded. Ideas based on religion are those which express the will of the Arab people. Faith is not only a characteristic in the people alone, but also in leadership. A believing leader can change the course of history [98].

After 1970, Sadat took that thread, not as a revolutionary impulse as Nasser did, but as a control strategy. Atheism became the most common accusation against political opponents, to isolate them from believing people. "Faith and atheism" was the game of all political regimes incapable of dealing with the political opposition. Kaddafi considered communists as atheists who do not pray, when he wanted to prove his Islamic vision and the "Third Theory". Egypt cooperated with the left, considered as the national left, because it did not present any real danger for political power. Once the situation changed and Kaddafi became pro-Soviet, which meant anti-Egyptian, Communists were

(٩٧) VI p. 582, General National convention extraordinary, 2nd session, 13.2.68; VI p. 72-3, Popular forces national convention sessions commenting on the Charter 3rd, session, 26.5.62.

(٩٨) IV p. 413-5, Alexandria University, 11th anniversary of the revolution, 7.63; VI p. 582-3, General National convention extraordinary session, 13.12.68; II p. 198, Labor day, 1.5.72; II p. 351, Declaration to the nation, 1. 1.72.

portrayed as anti-nationalist. After the January 1977 uprising, when the left became a danger to the political regime in Egypt, it was accused of atheism. Even Nasser, who was previously considered a believer defending Islam, was accused as an atheist by writers who wanted to outbid to please the regime. "Power centers" were dismissed in May 71 because they gave a Marxist version of Nasserism.

Marxim was dismissed because it is atheism[99]. Discredi-ting political opposition by discrediting the faith of political opponents began as early as 1964. Asked about religious freedom and whether it prevents religious conversion (Redda)-- how to build new generations on religious and ethical principles and whether superstition, religious business and atheism will be prohibited, the President replied in a way which indicated his conversion to inward religion instead of the outward revolutionary rulers of the early years of the revolution. Freedom of thought cannot tolerate sexual excitation. Sons and daughters are to be educated and the press has to be pure and sincere. There are some boundaries to freedom of thought. Sex magazines and journals can be censored. The limits of freedom are defined according to a sexual view of the world, typical to underdeveloped societies. The "Charter" stipulated clearly in two instances on religious freedom. Religious freedom has its holiness in the new Egyptian life. Moreover, free conviction is the solid base of faith. Faith without freedom becomes fanaticism, and fanaticism is a barrier to every new thought. These two directions also remained without any content. Although all Egyptian institutions affirmed religious freedom as one of the major constitutional principles, but the “Redda question” arose without any consistency between the principle and reality. Article 34 stipulates that religious freedom is guaranteed . The State

(٩٩) In front of the 2 nd army heroes, March 76, p. 12-4; To People's Assembly, 9.11.77, p. 15; In Arab Socialist Union, March 76, p. 79; Interview to Kuwaiti News paper Al-Siyasa 8.9.75, p. 30; People's Assembly special session, 14.3.76, p. 44.

defends the practices of every religion, according to its traditions, without harming the national code of ethics or disturbing order [(100)].

The topic of spiritual values appeared during Nasser's time, but turned out to be a phobia under Sadat. Nasser meant it, but Sadat used it openly to discredit and to attack political opposition. Nasser saw no opposition between spiritual and material values. The opposition between them is devised artificially and intentionally, by those who want to impose material values on the spiritual. The Qur'an stated in detail the material and spiritual aspects of life. All revolutions had the two goals simultaneously, to harmonize people's spiritual values with people's control of the means of production. The "Charter" says "Spiritual values coming out of faith and giving him unlimited energies for good, truth and life". The Declaration of March 30th also asked for strengthening of both spiritual and ethical values [(101)].

After 1970, the label of Marxist Atheism became an easy way to discredit political opposition. Both do not believe in spiritual values. Although capitalist societies are also based on material values, Capitalism was not discredited like Marxism. "Democratic Socialism" aims to rebuild the Egyptian man on the same bases: values, soul, consciousness. One of the major characteristics of Democratic Socialism is its foundation on spiritual values coming out from Divine messages. Alexandria University outbids and affirms the link between Egyptian man and spiritual values, deduced from religious dogma. The question sometimes can be asked in a more modernist way: how could people reach a modern technological stage and at the same time keep

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(١٠٠) The "Charter" p. 88, Temporary Constitution for the UAR, 25.3.64, p 14.

(١٠١) IV p. 413, 11th anniversary of the revolution, 28.7.63; In President Sangor reception, 22.2.67; VI p. 341 Sudanese and Egyptian forces in the front, 10.3.68; VI p. 513, Labor day explaining March 30th declaration, 1.5.68; "Charter" p. 88, March 30th declaration p. 25.

their own tradition? The answer is easy: more opening towards other nations' experiences and their modern sciences and more affirmation of spiritual values. This answer was summarized later as "Science and Faith". Many writers made themselves apologists of such a position. Every writer outbid the other, looking for a better job or a higher public office [(102)].

From 1967 till now, no major battle, like that of Islam and socialism, was engaged. The two major topics, sectarianism and faith, were defensive topics, not offensive ones. The regime was fighting back, obliged to speak after being attacked for its own weakness and failure. The only tactic remaining was the "religious overbid." In religious occasions, the President or religious leaders issued statements celebrating a feast and congratulating the Muslims. They were short and official slogans, well known in the tradition without any content and aiming at nothing. The more the political system became incapable of solving national and social issues, the more the regime launched such slogans to have a quick victory in a safe battle field, where there was no enemy and in front of religious masses already convinced by these slogans. The masses' emotional conviction and mystified consciousness made them receptive to mass-media messages. The battle switched from outside to inside and from reality to feelings. If the external world is difficult, the internal one is easy. All internal issues, like faith, are more theoretical than practical, except for some forms like rituals, religious appearances and formal statements on the application of Islamic law. Faith was oriented towards God, not society. God commanded faith. Faith is a psychological compensation of

(١٠٢) II p. 411-2, Message to Islamic Conference, Dakar, 7.12.72; V p. 41-2, ASU National Convention, 1st, session, 22.7.75; V p. 243, Labor day, 1.5.75; Democratic socialism, Universities High Council, p. 10-11, p. 19; Dr. Soliman M. Al-Tamay, Democracy and New Constitution: The Role of Spiritual Values in the New Society, p 81-3.

national crisis. It is needed in difficult moments. It is a magic weapon which gives a pseudo-victory. Therefore, for Sadat, faith was without any social, political, or economic contents [103].

The reason for this "Return to Faith" was not the religious education of the believing President, but the incapacity of the regime to solve major political and social problems and the desire to realize an indisputable victory. Asked about excellent improvised Qur'anic memory, the President replied that he had finished his primary studies in a Qur'anic school and was educated by a religious man, the village Imam. Through the media, Sadat showed himself venerating this Imam and walking in his funeral. He appeared on TV, closing his eyes, bowing, murmuring, and showing the black spot on his forehead (Zebiba) from prostration! In the country side, he is dressed with a Galabia with Chaplet in his hands, reciting the names of God!

Religious appearances under Sadat served to satisfy Egyptian realities. The speeches of the President are edited by the ministry of information, with the Islamic Calendar before the Christian one. The October war was called the Ramadan war to give that religious atmosphere and advertise the role of miracles in obtaining victory. All speeches began with "In the name of God', in its short or long form, and ended by Qur’anic verses. The best Qur'anic verse, which Sadat ended his political speech with, was "0 Lord, let not our hearts deviate now, after thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence; for thou art the Granter of bounties without measure" (3:8). This verse betrayed a psychological incertitude and a feeling of wrong doing in the shape of modesty. It shows lack of trust in political position and the desire of coering them up by asking guidance. It persuades to the people that there are two paths, the right one of the government and a wrong one of the opposition. The first is

(١٠٣) IV p. 124-5, 10th Students Congress, Alexandria University paper, p. 59.

guided by God, while the second is not. The other verse, "Our Lord, condemn us not if we forget or fall into error. Our Lord, Lay not on us a burden like that which Thou didst lay on those before us. Our Lord, La not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear. Blot out our sins, and grant us forgiveness. Have mercy, on us. Thou art our protector. Help us against those who stand against faith"(2:286) indicates the same feeling of political uneasiness and wrong doings. They can be forgiven by God, not accounted for by men [(104)].

(١٠٤) II p. 173-6, Prophet's birthday celebration, 25.4.72; The first verse was mentioned in about ten political speeches and the second seven; I p. 62, People's Assembly opening session, 19.11.70; I p. 312, Letter to People's Assembly, 20.5.7 1; In the beginning, I p. 501, ASU election committee, 2.6.71; II p. 328, ASU national convention, 23.7.72; IV p. 39. October war heroes honors, 19.2.74; 22nd anniversary of the revolution, 23.7.74; ASU national convention, 1st session, 2.7.75; Labor day, 1.5.76; On the occasion of Prsident re-election, 29.5.76; People's Assembly, 16.11.77; p. 34 The second verse is mentioned in I p. 12, Declaration in People 's Assembly, 7.10.70; Declaration to People's Assembly, p. 169; Speech in joint meeting between central committee and People's Assembly. 4.9.75; To Arab Nation on the occasion of People's Assembly new parliamentary session, 18.10.75; Nasser's 7th memorial, 28.9.77; Marine Transportation workers, 77, p. 22, People's Assembly 21.1.78, p. 49.

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mercy from Thine own Presence; for thou art the Granter of bounties without measure" (3:8). This verse betrayed a psychological incertitude and a feeling of wrong doing in the shape of modesty. It shows lack of trust in political position and the desire of coering them up by asking guidance. It persuades to the people that there are two paths, the right one of the government and a wrong one of the opposition. The first is guided by God, while the second is not. The other verse, "Our Lord, condemn us not if we forget or fall into error. Our Lord, Lay not on us a burden like that which Thou didst lay on those before us. Our Lord, La not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear. Blot out our sins, and grant us forgiveness. Have mercy, on us. Thou art our protector. Help us against those who stand against faith"(2:286) indicates the same feeling of political uneasiness and wrong doings. They can be forgiven by God, not accounted for by men [104].

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(١٠٤) II p. 173-6, Prophet's birthday celebration, 25.4.72; The first verse was mentioned in about ten political speeches and the second seven; I p. 62, People's Assembly opening session, 19.11.70; I p. 312, Letter to People's Assembly, 20.5.7 1; In the beginning, I p. 501, ASU election committee, 2.6.71; II p. 328, ASU national convention, 23.7.72; IV p. 39. October war heroes honors, 19.2.74; 22nd anniversary of the revolution, 23.7.74; ASU national convention, 1st session, 2.7.75; Labor day, 1.5.76; On the occasion of Prsident re-election, 29.5.76; People's Assembly, 16.11.77; p. 34 The second verse is mentioned in I p. 12, Declaration in People 's Assembly, 7.10.70; Declaration to People's Assembly, p. 169; Speech in joint meeting between central committee and People's Assembly. 4.9.75; To Arab Nation on the occasion of People's Assembly new parliamentary session, 18.10.75; Nasser's 7th memorial, 28.9.77; Marine Transportation workers, 77, p. 22, People's Assembly 21.1.78, p. 49.

The phobia of application of Islamic law is one of these cover-ups. After 1970 the trend began as one of the new regime's pillars. Every deputy in the People's Assembly, every public official and every political party and even opposite Arab regimes, Egyptian and Lybian, entered into this match. Speeches and symposia, articles and books, all competed to please political authority and to approach mass religious feelings. The intention was to postpone social change as if actual political and social crises are insoluble. Islamic law will be the savior in the future, but the present is left as it is. The intention was also to cover up the thefts and briberies committed by public officials. They have to be religious people if they shout for the application of Islamic law. Unfortunately, this call meant only the most horrible aspects in the popular mind: chopping off thieve's hands, flagellation for adults, shutting night clubs, wine prohibition, and women's veil. So it seems Islamic law comes to prohibit, not to permit. Complete silence exists over the socio-political rights of the Muslims, including Democracy, Socialism, freedom and social justice. However, hypocritical practices are obscured—dealing with the small theft, not the big theft; wine prohibition for the citizen, not for the tourists including the Arabs; the veil outside but nudity inside; prayers in the mass-media before or after belly dancing. Every one knows that the call is not serious, but a mere cover for religious hypocrisy.

That kind of linear relation between God and the people helped political authority to identify God with the head of the family. It was Heavenly Grace that God sent to the people the father of their family to guide them in their course.

More than traditional religious values, Sadat defended and propagated the patriarchal values. He considered himself the father of the Egyptian family. The best film for him was "Charity with Parents," where the rebellious son returned to his parents, asking forgiveness and pardon. The best political opposition for him was that one respecting traditional values, otherwise it will fall into the 'Eb. He asked for formation of a parliamentary committee called the 'Eb Committee. Once he was unable to answer students questions and defended himself as the head of the family.

Faith was defined by authenticity (Asala) which means in his mind the rejection of imported ideas namely Marxism, carried by all his political opponents. Faith is a direction towards God, Authenticity is a direction towards cultural heritage. A people who goes to God goes also to its spiritual heritage. But authenticity does not prevent modernism. All modernists were traditionalists and all traditionalists were modernists. No modernism without tradition and no tradition without modernism. Modernism does not necessarily mean a rift with tradition. Peoples with long traditions cannot modernize without conserving their historical identities. Without failing into cultural chauvinism, tradition permits, through modernism, plurality of experiences and variations in development. Sadat gave the example of Iran, the Cyrus revival and the renaissance of ancient Persian culture by the Shah. This kind of revivalism was based on the Western model. It was anti-Islamic and anti-Arab [105].

Sadat launched a new trinity, characterizing the soul of the Egyptian people: Authenticity, solidity and faith (Asala, Salaba,

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(١٠٥) I p. 257-9, Prophet's birthday celebration, 6.5.71; Shah Iran reception, 8.1.75, p. 19

Iman). The message of Mohammed was a message of solidity in defending truth and destroying falsehood [106].

Since May 15. Sadat wanted to characterize his own regime by independent slogans. The desire became more acute after the October war in 1973. Sadat summarized his religious epigrams in a new one, "Science and Faith," like many other epigrams, "State of Institution" or "Law Sovereignty." The "October paper," considered as a substitute for the "Charter," made from that slogan "science and faith" the condition of cultural progress. Both foundations were recommended by the prophet and approved by religion. The State is built on three pillars: military, political and "Science and Faith" as a third one. Science alone invades the soul with its Materialism, and Faith alone is insufficient without modern science.

Islamic culture was creative in both disciplines. It was a great one in religion and contributed to scientific progress, in mathematics, physics, astronomy, all of which the West borrowed later on. The modern State is based on both elements. Western culture was very creative in science but with lack of faith, as seen among the youth. The slogan was implemented by the authoritarian State, which called itself "The State of science and faith"! [107].

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(١٠٦) I p. 257-9, Prophet's birthday celebration, 6.5.71; II p. 372, Nasser's 2d memorial, 28.9.72.

(١٠٧) I p. 11-3, To Islamic Research Council, 4.4.71; I p. 249-5-, Labor day, 1.5.71: I p. 299, Lawyers delegation, 14.5.71; October paper, p.62; II p. 337-9 Alexandria University, 27.7.72; II p. 359-62, I p. 23, People's Assembly, 20.5.7; I p. 394, ASU, National Convention, 2nd, session 23.7.72; II p. 337-8, Alexandria University, 27.7.72; II p. 359-62, Islamic Conference meeting, Cairo, 14.9.72; III=

Faith was defined by Sadat as love, brotherhood and certitude. Faith meant the absence of violence and struggle. That permitted the acceptance of the status quo. It was a call to exploited classes, to accept and love the exploiting ruling class. There was no doubt in faith, but only absolute certitude in order to educate the masses on absolutism, without thinking or questioning. Faith was conceived against hatred, envy and fanaticism. That means against political opposition, usually accused with this kind of vocabulary. The Islamic concept of Democracy (Shura) was used to attack class dictatorship, namely Marxism, Nasserism and all kinds of political opposition. Shura for Sadat meant love! Science was seen as the only entry to modern times. The slogan in its very essence called for imitation of the past, as faith and spiritual heritage, and simultaneously imitation of the West, as science and Technology. A revolution usually calls for modernization and social change, while a counter-revolution calls for imitation and conformity [(108)].

There was a complete imbalance between science and faith. The concentration was more on faith than on science. The explanation of the slogan was always done for the second component, "Faith", never the first, "Science". Moreover, faith was considered the condition for science. The best technology is

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= p. 328, Science day, 1.10.73; IV p. 190, To Arab missions, 26.4.74; IV p. 246 Lebanese Magazine, Al-Hawadith Chief editor, 25.4.74,

(١٠٨) III p. 182, Interview with the International Yougoslavi Journalist Maria Nkowitch, 27.5.72; IV p. 704-5, Suez, 24.110.74; V p. 133-4, To Islamic Conference Lagos, 23.3.75; To the Afro Asian Symposium, 8.3.75; p. 96; II p. 379 Nasser's second memorial, 2.9.72.

unworthy without faith. The category of holy was the center of faith. Every content of belief is holy. A taboo was created in peoples' minds in order that political authority could manipulate for its own way [109]. No reference whatsoever was made to the material components of faith like power, weapons preparation, or training. Even more, faith appeared as miraculous. God sent signs in the last three years. These signs proved that God was with the people. Faith was conceived as a magical power, capable of performing the impossible, as in the October War, 1973 [110].

It was natural that in this faith-phobia, religious extremism appeared. Saleh Serriya, an extremist Muslim Brother, assaulted the military academy in order to establish the first liberated land for an Islamic State! A childish coup, but significant for religious extremism carried out in the country during Sadat's time. Reliogion is a double edged weapon. It was always used by political authority against political opposition. But, in the same time religious extremism used the same weapon against political authority. Once faith is not rational and social, which permits dialogue and a national front, it leads directly to religious extremism, whether from the side of political authority or from that of extremist religious groups. Political authority might have

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(١٠٩) V, p. 191, International meeting in Cairo for Bandung anniversary, 12.3.75; V p. 243, Labor day, 1.5.75; V Declaration to the Nation, 14.4.75; V p. People's Assembly, new parliamentary session, 18.1.75; ASU March 76, p. 68 Meeting with religious leaders, 8.2.77; p. 12-3, Nasser's 7th, memorial 28.9.77; Democratic Socialism, Universities High Council, Menoufia University view, p. 100.

(١١٠) I p. 141, Meeting with legislative body, 12.1.71; I p. 249-50, Labor day, I p. 257-9, Prophet's birthday celebration, 6.5.71; IV p. 580-1, Saoudi Newspaper 'Okath chief editor, 6.9.74.

stood against religious extremism, but Sadat used the same weapon of religious authoritarianism. Two powers, State power and Shukri Mustapha power, were struggling for the same type of authoritarianism. Political authority could not accept any competition with any other authority, even if it was religious authority, on which political authority depends. Political authority wanted a free hand to conceive religious authoritarianism and use it for its own purposes. Answering a question about the reason why many secret religious organizations appeared, and whether there were any sympathizers from outside the country or supporters from inside, Sadat replied that the Hippies phenomena appeared after the second world war and had its religious reaction as religious superstitions and authoritarianism!

Moreover, there were foreign agents, trained in Libya or another Arab regime which opposed the Egyptian regime. Sadat's analysis may explain the appearance of religious mysticism in the West, as a reaction to Western nationalism and technology. Absolute freedom generates absolute authoritarianism. But religious extremism in Egypt was not a reaction to any nationalistic or technological trend in the West or in Egypt. It was an extension of the destruction of reason, together with the authoritarian extremism of the State. This was a self-created reaction to the attack on materialism and atheism in Egypt, which had been initiated in order to hit two birds with one stone. The religious opposition was represented by the Takfir wa al-Higra group, and the political opposition represented by Marxists and Nasserists. For Sadat, when Marxists and atheists controlled the mass-media,

religious extremists wanted to return to the mosques. Thus as he saw it, Marxists and atheists conspired to make the 18/19 January 1977 riots, and religious extremists conspired to kill Sheikh al-Thahabi. So the extremist right was a reaction to the atheistic left, but for Sadat, both are enemies of the people's freedom. Ideological oppressions of the left are similar to religious superstitions of the right. The old quarrel between the revolution and the Muslim Brothers in 1954 was preempted. This time, Shukri Mustapha represented the right wing of the Brothers, in the absence of any leftist wing. The reason was the same, power struggle [(111)].

What does this slogan "Science and Faith" really mean? In The beginning, it was an anti-Nasserist slogan. Nasserism meant ignorance and atheism, ignorance because of state socialism, atheism because of Marxism and the link with the Soviet Union! Sadat wanted to build his own ideology after the coup of May 15.71. The only way was to formulate some of Nasserism criticism. His credit was Nasserism rectification.

That slogan took a positive trend, although it had begun negatively. It permitted Sadat to implement his policies distorting the meaning of the slogan. Science meant for him the West. To believe in science means to be pro-Western. Even the communist block had asked for the help of Western technology. Technology has to be imported through foreign companies, which helped Sadat to implement his open door policy and his free exchange With Western capitalism. Science, in Sadat's mind was a superstitious foundation for his Western alliance.

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(١١١) V, 355, Interview to the Lebanese Newspaper, Al-Anwar, 22.6.75; Nasser's 7th memorial, 28,9,70; p. 11-5, People's Assembly, 9.12.77; p. 14, Silver feast revolution, 23.7.77, p. 33

Faith meant for him the defense of the status quo for the use of the ruling class. Traditional values appear in societies to stop the process of social change and to be used as a shield for the ruling class prestige. It gives the ruling exploiting class its legality and produces obedience in exploited ruled classes. Nasser was religious and did not oppose such traditional values.

IV - Conclusion

Nasser's use of religion in political struggle followed the Law of action and reaction. In the period 1952-54, revolutionary values appeared with religious content, such as liberation, revolution, anti-imperialism, sacrifice, struggle, action. But in the following period 1954-56, other values appeared in reply, as a counter-revolution, featuring love, tolerance, cooperation, friendship, mercy, faith. The first revolutionary values are active and aggressive, while the second are passive and defensive. The first are progressive, the second are reactionary. The revolutionary values reappeared in 1958, during the union with Syria. Arab glorious ancient history became alive again, especially their unity against the Crusaders, the Mongols and the Tartars. But in 1961, after the secession, the attack against Syrian atheism began, as well as the defense of religious values, faith and national unity against sectarianism. In July 1961, the famous socialist laws were promulgated. New revolutionary values reappeared, of equity, social justice, equal opportunities. But in 1965, Arab reaction began to encircle the socialist regime in Egypt, via the Islamic pact. Then defensive values appeared to attack the Islamic pact and to discover imperialist games. After the 1967 defeat, the passive reaction appeared in returning to

faith and has continued till now. Religion became a weapon against Nasserists and all political opposition. The use of religion followed the political struggle of the regime and did not initiate any battle in which religion was the leader.

Yet religion was not used in some political battles as it should have been. It was not used in the battle against Israel, the first battle of the Arabs. Israel did not present a direct threat to the Egyptian regime, as Muslim Brothers or Saoudi reaction or Syrian secession did. Religion was only used as a self-defensive mechanism against the enemies of the regime. There were some occasional and formal allusions to Israeli's threat to other peoples between the Nile and the Euphrates, Israel's "promised land." Israel may not have been a religious matter. It was a political problem, using religion as a justification of a political situation. In this case, Islam could have been used in the same way, to defend the rights of the Palestinians. The Arabs may have refused to use religious arguments against Israel on the international scene in order not to be accused of fanaticism. But Israel itself did not hesitate to use the Tora as a legal foundation of the State. It is more probable that Arab regimes, without exception, were not serious in fighting Israel, whether fearing it, or anxious about their political powers, or abandoning the whole question because they were not concerned directly with it.

In the President's discussions with the National convention members, one member, Mohammed Anan Latif, Ministry of Treasury Deputy and representative of an Alexandria constituency, asked him to consider the battle with Israel a religious one. Indeed it was so in the hearts of Arabs and Muslim

Peoples. Fighting Zionism will be a fight for the sake of God, especially if the enemy considered it a religious battle and mobilized all the Jews of the world who considered their victory in June 1967 as revenge for their defeat in Khaiber during the prophet's time. The President did not follow the line and considered that kind of talk outside the subject discussed. To him, more relation was military and moral mobilization. Religion for the President, could help in moral mobilization, but it was not a real weapon. When the member was not convinced by the President’s answer and wanted to ask further, the President interrupted him. The member insisted and cited a Qur'anic verse "God hath purchased of the Believers their persons.." (9:111) and proposed putting the motion to the Alexandria electorate, namely religious mobilization on the Agenda, and recited also "God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause) for verily God is full of strength, exalted in might” (22:40). No religious leaders who were in the President’s court spoke, like Ahmed Mousa Salem, who considered himself in Sadat's time the custodian of religion and faith against atheism and Marxism. Dr. Gami took the thread and spoke on the same topic and affirmed that Israel was a zionist religious movement and referred to Haim Weizman’s Book “Trial and Error," written in 1928 to prove that Israel's plan was to humiliate Arabs and Muslims and to recover all Arab land, including Khaiber. The question was serious, but the President did not answer! [(112)].

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(١١٢) VII p 40, Arab Peoples support convention, opening session, 23.1.69; Palestine orientation pamphlets no 8, Islamic Research Council, 1969, ASU National Convention, 1st meeting, p. 513-4, 14-18, 9.68.

The Autocratic type of the regime was also obvious when Kamal Mohammed Sheta mentioned, in the ASU national convention, that military mobilization during the Prophet's time included the army and people together. The speaker requested to begin the military mobilization with a religious one, not on the mass media campaign, because victory comes from God, and the member recited "How oft, by God's Will, hath a small force vanquished a big one?" (2:249). The President did not answer, considering that kind of talk political rhetoric. The student, Ahmed Mahmoud Gad, asked for youth military camps for religious and moral education, but the President did not answer either. That proves that religion was never taken seriously in the Arab battle against Israel [113].

Nasser stopped the war of attrition two or three days for a religious feast, as if the battle against Israel was not a religious battle, and as if Muslims had not waged wars against their enemies even during Ramadan. All Nasser's reference to Islam in his struggle against Israel comes from the fideist period, after the 1967 defeat, when the appeal to religion and faith appeared.

Jerusalem is mentioned at the same time, without being central in the religious catechism against Israel. Jerusalem is remembered, Aqsa Mosque is defended after it was burned. It is the first of two quiblas. It cannot be owned by one tradition but by all. Church representatives assisted an Islamic conference in Lebanon, affirming that Jerusalem is also a Christian as well as an Islamic issue. Both Christians and Muslims committed themselves for

(١١٣) VI p 524-5, National Convention, 2nd, session, 23.12.68;

Jerusalem’s liberation from racialist domination. No one, Muslim or Christian, would accept an Israeli domination of Arab Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the symbol of three religions’ coexistence, a free city for all believers. Instead of the Crusades, the mind of Omar and Salah Al-Din can return again, namely tolerance and recognition of people's rights. Muslim and Christian holy places are not only for religious cults, but they witness Arab presence throughout history. Jerusalem jumped again in political rhetoric after Sadat's visit to the holy city. National soil was considered as the holy valley in which God spoke to Moses. Sadat's prayer in Aqsa mosque and his visit to Kyama Church was a symbol that no Muslim or Christian would accept Israeli domination of the Arab section of the city. Christians asked Omar, when they delivered to him the holy city, to keep the Arab city. Omar delivered the keys of the city to Patriarch Sofornius. From that time, the tradition did not allow any Jews to enter the city. After the liberation of the Arab section, a contact between the two sections in the city can be conceived [(114)].

The question is, how serious was this kind of political rhetoric?

Some of this rhetoric was pronounced in front of the Shah of Iran, who had diplomatic relations with Israel and who supplied Israel with oil [(115)].

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(١١٤) IV p. 1973-6, Prophet's birthday celebration, 15.4.72; II p. 328 Speech, 11.7.72; IV p. 43304, To Islamic conference in Kuala Lampur, 23.1.74; IV p. 106, Interview to Salim Al-Lauzi, Al Hawadith Magazine chief editor. Interview with program, Face the Nation, 28.11.77.

(١١٥) V p. 19, Shah of Iran reception, 8.1.75.

Because the topic was not launched from the power elite, the religious establishment was almost silent, once Islamic Research Council met in Cairo to support Arabism and Islam. The Qur'an called for unity and cooperation against aggression. Muslims do much less than Israelis in collecting money. Every Muslim has to work for the Palestinian cause. In every county there is a Jewish or a zionist committee working and collecting money. Small sums in the beginning become large sums at the end. Muslim peoples support freedom for all peoples, regardless of their religion. Land liberation is a holy liberation and a part of the Islamic faith. The same Islamic Research Council published some recommendations regarding the struggle against zionism, the mask for a new Imperialism. The lack of such a struggle is equal to religious sin (116).

Christians also were warned against the zionist danger, because Israel did not make any distinction between Muslims and Christians when it occupied Palestine and dismissed the Palestinians. There are more than one million refugees, Muslims and Christians as well.

Nasser warned the Christians and offered them free pilgrimage to the holy land. Egypt witnessed Christ's life and destiny and respected the principles Christ sacrificed himself for. Egypt will receive all Christ's followers in order that peace can be reestablished in the land of Christ (117).

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(١١٦) VII p. 199, People's Assembly ordinary session, 6.11.69; VII p. 326 People's Assembly parliamentary group, 24.3.70; VII p. 296, Interview James Reston, New York Times chief-editor, 13.2.70; VII p. 318, In front of Islamic Research Council, Cairo, 5.3.70.

(١١٧) IV p. 429-30 To Middle East Churches Convention, 19.6.64.

Answering a question about the possibility that Israel would accept the return of big numbers of Arabs to their homeland, in spite of the foundation of the State of Judaism, the President answered affirmatively. Jews and Arabs, Muslims and Christians had always lived and they are still living together. Some wanted to leave and then changed their mind. 80%, of them were arrested after the 1967 war, like other Muslims and Christians, but they were released for security reasons. On the other hand, Israel arrested 7,000 Arabs in the occupied territory. The Jewish colony in Egypt is about 5,000, and they live in peace as they always have, for thousands years. Arabs and Jews are both Semites. Convergencies between them are greater than divergencies. Moses was born in Egypt. How could Arabs be anti-Semites? They are themselves Semites! Egyptians see Jews in Egypt as Egyptians. Arab Jews consider themselves as Arabs living in the land where their ancestors lived thousands of years ago [118]. Answering a question whether Palestine was an Arab land and what will be the destiny of Jews after they had established a Hebrew State, Nasser replied that Palestine was always Arab long centuries ago. Muslims, Christians and Jews lived together.

Problems began after the first world war, when Jews decided to establish their homeland. The crisis of 1948 emerged after the first second world war. The Jewish percentage in Palestine was 8%, then grew to 30% before the war of 1948.

(١١٨) VII p. 11-12, Interview with Clinton Daniel, New York Times, Chief editor, 29.4.69; VII p. 66-7, Interview with C.L. Sulzberger, New York Times publisher, 26.2.69; VII p. 295, Interview to William Toby and Roland Evans, Los Angeles Times for Middle Eastern Affairs, chief-editors, 3.2.70.

Then Israel wanted to usurp all the land and dismiss the inhabitants, Muslims or Christians. Now, United Nations resolutions have to be applied in order that Jews, Muslims and Christians can live together as they did in the past. Palestinians accepted but Israelis insisted on an exclusive Hebrew State. Judaism for the Israelis is not religion but also nationalism. If every community creates a State based on its religion, a Muslim State, a Christian State, and a Jewish State, the area will fall into the most horrible fanaticism. The question was always in the mind of foreign correspondents and foreign newspapers editors, more than it was in the power elite perception [(119)].

After 1970, the call for peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Christians from one hand and Jews from the other hand continued from a position of weakness, not of strength, as during Nasser's time. Although this coexistence would have come naturally, after Israel's recognition and acceptance of Zionism, Sadat used the same historical argument as Nasser. Jews lived many centuries under Arab rule without any distinction in the Middle East, in Africa or in Europe.

Was religion used to justify peace with Israel, before or after Sadat's peace initiative? The question of peace appeared for the first time during 1969 and religion was not a big issue in it. Peace was the only door left to Sadat after his visit to the Soviet Union and his anti-Arab and anti-Socialist pollcies. However, the Qur'an was used to prove that Arabs do not want war for the sake of war, but as a mere necessity and as a last measure. Sadat

(١١٩) IV p. 408, Nixon reception in Kubba palace, 12.6.74.

recited the Qur'anic verse, “fighting is proscribed for you and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you" (2:216). Arabs then did not want war, but peace based on justice. They did want only their rights and then tend to peace as God and the Qur'an asked them to do. In the same time, they prepared themselves to liberate their occupied territories also as God commanded them in the Qur'an. Peace is the essence of all religions. Peace initiatives occurred during the Great Islamic feast, the feast of Abraham's sacrificing his son. Abraham is the great father of Jews and Arabs alike. Sadat recited "Say ye we believe in God and the revelation given to us and to Abraham, Ismail, Issac, Jacob and the Tribes, and that given to Moses and Jesus, and that given to all Prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between one and another of them. And we bow to God” (2:136). Sadat even cited in his speech in the Knesset some verses on peace from the old Testament, like that of Solomon "Dishonesty is in the heart of those who think in evil, and joy for those who preach peace", of David in his Psalms "0 Lord, I cry. Hear the voice of my supplications when I implore you and raise my hands in your holy sanctuary. Do not pull me with evil doers and evil persons who speak peace with their friends, but their hearts are full of evil. Give them according to thier good deeds and bad deeds. I ask for security and look for it," or that of Zachary, "A piece of bread with peace is better than offering meat with discord". However, in spite of the Arab rejection camp, and criticism of the peace initiative, religion was not used to justify it. The silent camp did not use religion to discredit and to disapprove the peace initiative. That is why there was no use

of religion as a self defensive, as in other battles like that of Islam and Socialism, or Islamic pact [120].

Religion was not used as a factor to preach Arab unity. Answering a question about the meaning of the Arab Nation and whether it is the community of culture of history, of race or of religion, Nasser answered that the Arab nation was formed throughout history, not suddenly, and that the idea of Arab Nationalism existed prior to the revolution. Previously the Arab Nation had formed one State and was unified for many reasons. All Arabs from Iraq to Morocco feel that they are Arabs, showing the same culture, crises and hopes. Religion never appeared as a unifying factor. The reason was the same. First, no body attacked the Egyptian regime as anti-Arab and used religion to prove his accusation.

Religion was used in the Egyptian regime only as a defensive mechanism. Second, religion was not taken seriously as an agent of development and was excluded from the battle of Pan-Arabism. Had the battle been serious, religion would have appeared as a unifying factor. Third, Pan-Arabism was a purely secular idea adopted by Nasser as a national hero after the Suez Canal nationalization in 1956, and especially after the Iraqi revolution in 1958. Pan-Arabism was the common ideology which made Nasser different from the Egyptian Brothers. It was also the Ba'th ideology in which Nasser stressed anti-imperialism and socialism. Answering a question on the possibility of being a

(١٢٠) Speech in People's Assembly, 9.11.77, p. 41-9; Speech in People's Assembly, 26.11.77, p. 8, in the Knesset, 20.11.77.

Christian or a Jewish Arab and not necessarily a Muslim, Nasser replied that the three religions were born in Arab regions. Moses was born in Egypt, Christ in Palestine and Mohammed in the Arabian Peninsula. Jews, Christians and Muslims are Arabs who always lived in their region without any discrimination against any of them. The National "Charter" affirmed it by saying "Our people believes in Heavenly messages and lives in the region where they took birth" [121].

In spite of the non-use of religion as a factor in Arab unity, writers outbid each other and spoke of its religious origin, especially some reformist thinkers like Al-Kawakibi at the beginning of the independence movement during the Ottoman Empire. Religion was seen, whether directly or through the Arabic language, as a fact in unity. Islam is a pillar in Arab nationalism and played a cultural role. Islam was even considered as the creator of Arab Nationalism, right or wrong. That kind of justification was needed. There was no such battle waged by the power elite. Other writers continued the orthodox line of the regime, the exclusion of religion as a factor in Arab unity [122].

Nasser did not use religion in the battle of 1956, whether before nationalization or hereafter in his resistance against the three party aggression. His famous speech, "We will fight, we

(١٢١) VII p. 171-2, Interview with Mr. Tsoville, French Television political commentator, 29.4.69; The "Charter", p 88.

(١٢٢) Sufi Abu Taleb is an example of the first group of writers, Studies in Arab Nationalism; I, National State, p. 6; II, Arab Nationalism foundations, p. 37-52; II Arab Nationalism movement, p. 7-15; Y. Heweidi is a representative of the state line, Philosophy in the "Charter" p.80.

will fight" was given in Al-Azhar, a popular place where he can be heard. Al-Azhar was always the cradle of popular resistance since Napoleon. National struggle did not need such use of religious justification. No attack against Egypt's struggle for national independence was made. Nasser could have used the same weapon as a defensive mechanism. That proves that religion was not intended to be a factor in development, but was imposed on Nasser according to political and social circumstances. Once political struggle is clear, no religious justification is needed.

Nasser did not use religion as a binding factor between the People's of Africa and Asia, or as a motive for the Afro-Asian movement. He did not mention Islam with India, Indonesia or Malaysia, only with Pakistan. Islam was not used as a factor in the non-alignment and positive neutralism policy. It was possible to do so, as the Muslim Brothers did, since Islam is not Eastern or Western, if the power elite had wished to do so (123).

Sadat also did not use religion to justify his open-door policy, because he did not need it. Nobody, whether from inside Egypt or from outside, criticized this policy using religion. Sadat was not obliged to counter attack using the same weapon. He did not even initiate an offensive against his opponents using religion, because the open door policy was supported by the new middle class in Egypt, which had economic and political power. The policy was defending itself by the ruling class without need of any ideological justification.

(١٢٣) V p. 228-36, Speech in front of Malaysian King Religion was never used seriously or intentionally for development.

Nasser could have used religion to dissolve class distinctions. There was opposition inside Egypt, not only outside, to agrarian reform laws, to Nationalization measures and to the socialist laws of July 61. Nasser faced the opposition via revolutionary and people's tribunals, or via the feudalism liquidation committee. But Nasser used religion only to defend his regime against Arab reactionary criticism coming from outside. Religion was then used to defend a political regime, rather than for socialist construction in Egypt. That was clear where Sheikh Ashour asked the President about tightening the belt for the poor, not for the rich power elite! Nasser ignored the question and replied only to a second question about sexual excitation, mini-Jubs and religious education. The first question was even dropped from the National convention minutes [124].

The power elite intentionally promoted a very narrow concept of religion as a ritualistic concept, without going to its social and political foundations. At most, it promoted an individual and ethical vision, without stretching it to a total social and political ideology. Good and bad are innate in hearts and in human nature, in individual as well as in society. Responsibility is individual, not social. Perfection is due to individual initiative, to family education, not to social structure and political change. Religion was thus conceived in a traditional way. That is why development was very easily obstructed after 1970, during the socialist retreat phase. Religion very easily became the basis of conservatism [125].

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(١٢٤) VI p. 582-3, National convention, second session, 13.12.68;

(١٢٥) VI p. 582-3, National Convention extraordinary session, 13.12.68.

Religion was not used for development but rather to justify political options of the regime. Religion was not the initiator of development but a follower and a justification of political decisions of the power elite. Religion was like thought and art in the service of the political regime. When war was intended, the power elite decided to bring out all Qur'anic verses to "heat up the front"!

Because religion was used as a defensive mechanism to political options, once these options changed, the mechanism changed accordingly. Therefore, religion was used to justify contradictory positions. For example, the atheism weapon used by Arab reactionary powers against socialist regime in Egypt was the same weapon the Egyptian regime used against the Ba'thist regime in Syria after the secession and the transformation of the Syrian regime after 1964 into a more radical one! Another example, in the same time the Egyptian revolution criticized the use of religion for political ends by Arab reactionary powers, but it used religion to defend its own political ends, in opposition to Arab reaction or Arab secession. Religion was used by both camps to justify contrary political ends. The difference was not in two versions of Islam, but in two opposite interests between the conflicting political regimes. What appeared to be conflict of interpretations was really conflict of interests. In a third example, the Egyptian revolution used Arab Nationalism to realize Arab unity and interpreted the Crusades as anti-Arab Nationalism, without using Islam. In the same time, during the Yemeni war, Egypt used Islam to emphasize the unity between the two peoples. With Syria, secularism appeared, with Yemen, Islam appeared. In a fourth example, Egyptian leadership attacked (al-Takfir wa al-

Higra) group, criticizing that the group made itself a criterion for judging people, who has faith and who has not. In the same time, political leaders in Egypt used the same weapon and accused political opponents of being atheists denying Heavenly messages! The power elite in Egypt even used the Qur'anic verse “No coercion in religion," to discredit religious extremism, while in the same time using religious attacks against political opposition.

Political religious rhetoric was superficial, demagogic and momentary. It was superficial because it did not transform mass culture into political ideology. The relation between religion, the most constitutive element in mass culture, and political discourse stayed external to each other. Mass culture has not been reconstructed as a political ideology. The relation was demagogic because it intended to have popular support for the power elite, more than it intended to mobilize the masses or to indoctrinate them. Masses liked the victory of their leaders, dealing with other leaders even on the level of words. Jokes and bravados were used to enlarge the image of their Hero. It was also momentary because it occurred only occasionally, according to political circumstances, in big popular meetings where Nasser was expected to perform a marvelous political show, played and mastered by the Hero. Passions are short term. Heart flames are quickly put out, once the show is ended. There was no creation of a permanent mass consciousness, the best guarantee for the heroic leader. After 1970, it was easy to turn away the flames according to the direction of the new wind. Although the power elite used the Qur'anic verse, “For the scum disappears like froth cast out, while that which is for the good of mankind remains on

the earth" (13:17), but political-religious rhetoric was like air bulbs which explode as soon as they reach the seashore [126].

It was difficult to apply any theory in sociology of religion, to know the relation between religion and politics during the Egyptian Revolution, whether that of Durkheim, Weber or other theories. The data did not go beyond political and religious catechism in support of political regimes. The power elite used this demagogic style of leadership and left religion in the hands of reactionary powers, using it to stabilize more and more stagnant masses. Religion as mass-culture has not been transformed into a political ideology. There was neither critique of religion nor critique of society. The critique made by the opposition was secular, not based on the reinterpretation of religious tradition to defend mass interests. Consequently, the power elite had a free hand to use religion to discredit any opposition. The weapon was not in the hands of the revolutionary intellectuals and national social scientists, to bridge the gap between the power elite and the opposition by reconstructing the religions mass culture as political culture or to implement development as a national goal.

(١٢٦) VI p. 582-3, National convention extraordinary session, 13.12.4; V p 105 Interview to Salim Al-Lauzy, chief editor of the Lebanese Magazine, Hawadith; I. p. 173, 2nd, anniversary of the revolution, Al-Azhar Mosque, 22.7.54, Speech to soldiers and officers of Air forces, 19.4.75.

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION (*)

I - Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to know whether concepts of equity and social justice were secular or religious concepts. Many scholars affirmed categorically that Nasser's Socialism was a continuation and a fulfillment of Islamic reform movements which began in the last century. Consequently, concepts of equity and social justice were religious concepts and Nasser's socialism was an Islamic socialism. In this case, the religious factor played an important role in Income Distribution. This conclusion is a hasty one and cannot be substantiated by concrete evidence. Therefore, we present the second hypothesis, that the concepts of equity and social justice and the consequent ideologies of socialism were secular concepts. Religion was used only as a defensive mechanism against the attack of Arab reactionary States using religion against Nasser's socialism. The peak of this controversy occured in 1962-63. Religion in both camps in the Arab World, progressive as well as reactionary, was used as a means to justify political and social ends. Religious and secular institutions in every political regime came in to help justify Islam as vehicle for social change under Nasser, or for social stability under Sadat. Islam as Mass-culture also entered into the political game as active values under Nasser, or as passive values under Sadat. The will to change or to stabilize

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(*) Income Distribution Project. Woodrow Wilson School of Economics. Princeton NJ U.S.A. Lisbon, October 1979.

was that of the power elite. Both religious and secular institutions followed the political line of the regime. Mass-culture in both cases stayed unchanged as a historical continuum. Therefore, the religious factor and income distribution will be analysed on three levels.

1 - Power Elite

Leader-ship, especially under Nasser, was charismatic. It was behind major political and social decisions. The autocratic type of Egyptian regime, whether under Nasser or Sadat, permitted the big role of leadership. Content analysis of political speeches, mainly of Nasser and Sadat, showed very clearly how religion was used as a defensive mechanism in power struggles, whether between rival political regimes, Nasser's and Faisal's, or between internally between political authority and opposition, Sadat and the left.

2 - Religious and Secular Institutions

Religious and secular institutions justified political and social decisions of the power elite. They served as Mass-media to defend, rationalize and justify. Al-Azhar, the Imams, religious catechism, professors, universities, political parties, societies, clubs, organizations … etc, all of them participated in justifying the political decisions of the power elite. Sociology of religion can describe the social function of these institutions and determine the social rank of religious leaders.

3 - Mass Culture

The Masses in Egypt are still controlled by religious values. Religious doctrines and values play in traditional

societies the role political ideologies play in modern societies. They were used directly in the case of ideologies of revolution, or indirectly when religion was used as a vehicle for social change. Cultural anthropology, as well as sociology of knowledge, helped in describing the role of Mass-Culture in Mass behavior.

These three levels of analysis were based on phenomenological description of living experiences shared by the scholar and his society. Primary sources were used, such as political speeches, declarations of religious leaders, press releases, mass media programs, mosques catechism, apologetic works on Islam and Socialism, or on socialism in Islam, proverbs, songs, novels, dramas, and poetry. This raw material unveils direct experiences and describe life situations far from Orientalistic historicism.

The religious factor in income distribution is a particular case within a general one, which is the use of religion in social and political development. Religion means essentially dogmas, rituals, sacred books, ethics, institutions, and places. It also covers all super-structure in a given society. In underdeveloped countries, religion is a major stream-which forms people's value system.

II - Power Elite Use of Religion as Defensive Mechanism in Power Struggle

A - Islam and Social Change

If we follow Nasser's development of thought to know when the religious factor appeared and when it disappeared, we can say without hesitation that Nasser's early concepts of equity,

social justice, equal opportunities and dissolving class distinctions (1952-54) were purely secular. Moreover, his "Cooperative Democratic Socialism" (1957-60), a first elaboration of an ideology of socialism, was also secular. It was only his socialism (1961-64) which had religious justification, after the attacks of Arab reactionaries, namely Saoudi Arabia, on Nasser’s socialism, using religion to discredit him and his regime in the eyes of the Arab Masses. Nasser's socialist regime became a pole of attraction to the Arab Masses and an alternative regime to feudal and tribal regimes.

Nasser's power struggle was more outside rather than inside. An early connection between Islam and Social justice appeared during his power struggle with the Muslim Brethren, which began publicly in 1954. Nasser counter-attacked, accusing them of not implementing their religious slogans, left empty of any social or political content. The revolution, on the contrary, realized the content of these slogans. If the Muslim Brethren considered the Qur'an as their constitution, the revolution implemented that constitution by dethroning the king, expelling British troops and putting an end to corruption and social injustice [(1)]. At the same time, Nasser wrote an introduction to a book on socialism, referring to Islamic Socialism [(2)]. Nasser, in his power struggle with the Muslim Brethren, wanted to outplay them. If they had one point, Islam, he had two, Islam and socialism. But in reality the differences between the two were not income distribution and social justice. Both favored equity. The Muslim Brethren even called for social justice before and after the revolution [(3)]. Their dispute was simply a power

struggle. The free officers had made the revolution, and the Muslim Brethren wanted to absorb it.

In Nasser's thought, the theme “Islam and Marxism" preceded the famous theme “Islam and Socialism". Asked by the Tempo correspondent in 1956 whether there was any resemblance in principles between Islamic religion, on which Arab States policy was based, and Marxism, and whether criticism of religion was the reason why Arabs stayed away from communism, Nasser replied that Islam was the religion of the Arab Majority.

Islam delineated the general principles of human cooperation. There was consequently no need for new principles, communist or otherwise. This reference to Islam was caused by an outside question. Foreign powers were afraid at that time of Egyptian alignment with the East. They wanted assurances that the struggle against Imperialism and the nationalization measures, that is, the struggle for political and economic independence, would not lead to an alignment with the socialist camp against the West. After Egypt's Victory in the tripartite aggression in 1956, and after it became an example of a Third World country struggling for its independence, suspicions about Nasser arose in the Western mind, confusing national independence with communism [(4)].

Three years later, a real danger came from the Marxism out of Iraq under Kassem's rule. Nasser appealed to Islam in his struggle with Kassem in 1959, accusing him of atheism and communism, a weapon which Sadat used later against Nasserists, Socialists and all progressives in Egypt after the uprising of January 1977. Islam appeared as an anti-Marxist religion [(5)]. Another three years later, in

the midst of his battle against Arab reactionaries and refuting the accusation of being communist, Nasser made a clear distinction between his socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Nasser's socialism, besides other characteristics, affirmed a belief in God, while Marxism-Leninism did not. The first recognized religion, while the second did not. Sadat also used this difference to discredit his internal political opponents [(6)].

Nasser's use of Islam to defend his socialism against Saoudi attacks began in full force in 1961 and continued until 1965, the beginning of another battle, that of the Islamic Pact. It reached its peak in 1962-63. Islam, which Nasser had used against Kassem three years earlier, was used now by Faisal against Nasser himself. Nasser then began his counterattack against Arab reactionaries, after they used Islam against Arab Socialism. He wanted to disarm his opponents from their sharpest weapon, namely religion. Indeed, Arab reactionary regimes in Saoudi Arabia and Yemen began their attacks against Nasser's socialism after the secession of Syria from the U.A.R in September 1961. They thought it was the proper time to get rid of Nasser and liquidate his socialist revolution, once he was weakened and hit in the back.

Nasser used a double dialectic, a positive one where he proved that Islam was a socialist religion; and a negative where he proved that Islam was not reactionary. According to Nasser, Islam was a socialist religion. Medieval Islam formed the first socialist experience in the World. The Prophet Mohammad was the head of the first socialist State. He was the first who applied nationalization policies in the famous saying “People share three:

water, grass and fire". In another version, salt was added. These were, at that time, the fundamental sources of wealth, which correspond nowadays agriculture, industry, and mining [7]. The prophet gave the highest example of social practice. He lived poor and died poor. He owned nothing. He died in debt to a Jew. He shared his daily bread with others. He safeguarded the right of the poor from the rich. The poet Ahmed Shawki truly described him as the Imam of socialists [8].

Afterwards, the Islamic socialist State continued during the period of Abu Bakr and Omar. Omar nationalized feudalist land in Iraq and distributed it among poor peasants [9]. Here, Nasser made an image of early Islamic society, almost a communistic society, and Engels did the same in describing primitive Christianty.

Islam, Nasser continued, was a religion of equity, social justice, and equal opportunities. Therefore, Islam was socialist. Both Islam and socialism meant equity between men, equal opportunities in the standard of living, and dissolving class distinctions. Religion made equal opportunities the base of punishment and reward. Every one begins his life with his own works. He does not begin by class inheritance. All men are free and equal. Islam does not permit a society with poor and rich. Before the revolution, 5% owned 50% of national income. The revolution came to put an end to this unjust income distribution and destroy capitalist and feudalist classes. Doing this, the revolution applied Islam, because Islam did not allow the rich to usurp the poor [10].

More than ten times, Nasser said the following epigram: “Islam is the law of justice, the law of justice is the law of God.”

Here Nasser comes directly to the heart of things. The essence of Islam is justice and the essence of law is justice. Then, justice is Divine. Every measure implementing social justice then becomes equal to Divine Law [(11)].

Social justice is the natural and Divine relation between rich and poor. Those who have, give to those who have not. All religions, not only Islam, called for social justice. All of them, like Islam, institutionalized the Zakat, sharing one's wealth. Abu Bakr even made war against those who refused to share their wealth with the poor. Sharing one's wealth is equal to Islam. The Zakat aimed to establish social justice and to dissolve class distinctions, even through violence. It is 2.5% of individual wealth every year. If man lives and works around 40-50 years, it becomes a big fortune used for the benefit of the community. In Islam, there were no poor and handicapped, because of this social solidarity [(12)]. Therefore, social justice had its base in Islam. If social justice was defined as sufficiency, sufficiency in Islam was not based on material grounds but on spiritual, religious and moral ones [(13)]. Islamic socialism, according to Nasser, is an ethical rather than an economic system. It came out of people's traditions and spiritual heritage.

Islamic ethics was that of work, similar to socialist ethics, rejected by Sadat later in his "Democratic Socialism." That is why Islam prohibited usury, because it is against work, the only legitimate source of income. Money does not generate itself but only through work, that means through effort and sweat. The revolution followed the same type of ethics. It put an end to usury in agricultural loans and gave loans to peasants without usury [(14)].

Nasser, in order to justify his transitional socialism. Came once again to one of his own early remarks about graduation in Islamic law. The famous example was the graduation in wine prohibition. God determined first that wine was more harmful than useful. Then, wine was prohibited only during prayer time, because of drunk-ness. Finally wine was absolutely prohibited at all times and on all occasions. The Qur'an was taken as an example of gradual revolution and consequently gradual application of socialism (15).

If in the theme “Islam and Socialism" Nasser defended himself, this time in the theme “Islam and Reaction" Nasser counter-attacked the reactionary camp. According to Nasser, religion was used by Arab reactionaries to dupe the people. The main purpose was to keep people in ignorance in order to usurp easily their wealth. Reactionary leaders interpreted religion falsely with complete awareness of their falsehood. Yemeni and Saoudi reactionaries usurped people's wealth. They wanted to cover up their usurpation by religious camouflage. They exploited their people and accumulated money. Their accumulation of wealth did not come from work, the Islamic value, but exploitation, which Islam prohibited. Islam opposed the accumulation of money or the spending of it on women slaves. Under the pretext of defending Islam, they defended their own interests. In Islam, people's wealth was for the people, not for the kings (16).

Nasser attacked traditional religious values like patience and reinterpreted other "disvalues", like atheism, as values. Arab reactionaries asked poor people to be patient. Patience is not an Islamic value if it means acceptance of usurpation. If someone is

patient for one year he could not be so two. If he was for five years he would not be so for ten. Sadat later considered patience as the highest Islamic value, using it as opium for the people. On the other hand, Nasser rejected the contention that social equity was atheism, because belief in one God required the equality of all human beings in front of him. On the contrary, inequity was atheism because it denied that all humans were equal in front of God. Atheism was usurpation, exploitation, class distinctions, capitalism, feudalism and imperialism. Atheism was the women-slaves system and illegal polygamy [(17)]. Nasser also defended himself against the accusation that he substituted socialism for Islam and that he made himself a prophet of a new religion, as radio Mecca claimed. Nasser described himself only as a leader unveiling the pseudo-socio-religious practices of the "prince of believers," namely King Faisal.

Arab reactionaries wanted to leave the problem of social justice to be solved in the hereafter by the help of God, not in this world through socialism! Social justice could not be left to God, as radio Mecca wanted. Should Muslims have abolished the ministry of justice and have left the strong dominated by the weak? Why should paradise be promised to the poor in the hereafter and not in this world? The rich could have their share in paradise and could have left their wealth to the poor in this world!

Nasser also rejected the charitable socialism offered by Arab reactionaries. Charity was not enough for social justice as radio Mecca wanted. The wealth was God's wealth, that is, people's wealth. The people had the right to have their money

back from Swiss Banks. People's money should have been invested inside the country not outside.

If Arab reactionaries admired socialism, their admiration stayed on the level of words and feelings, not on the level of action and realities. The Yemeni Imam was pleased with Shawky poems, describing the prophet as Imam of socialists, but at the same time he refused socialism to be applied in his country [(18)].

Nasser attacked Saoud personally pushing the argument ad hominem to the maximum. Saoud considered himself the Ka'ba protector, although he did not represent Islam. On the contrary, he was profaning the Ka'ba. God and not Saoud protected the Ka'ba. The royal family in Saoudi Arabia was an insult to Islam. He was a bad representative of Islam in the foreign press. The image of Islam in the West: slavery, harem, corruption, exuberance, sexism … etc., came from Saoudia Arabia [(19)].

Nasser used almost no textual arguments. He used only rational evidence, experimental evidence and Mass evidence. He was able to win the battle against Arab reactionaries very easily. His arguments were of content not of form. His vision of Islam, although dialectical (from dialogue) was also a vision of content, not of form. Later on, Sadat used scriptural arguments which were in fact arguments of authority.

B - Islam And Social Stability

Since the death of Nasser, a counter revolution began with the process of political and economic Denasserization (1971-73). Sadat used to make the revolutionary history as if the revolution had ended. The open-door policy (1973 -75) was declared after

the October war. "Democratic Socialism" (1975-77) aimed at altering Nasser's socialism, opposing Marxism and preparing for Zionism's gradual recognition, since the visit to Jerusalem in November 1977. The Camp David agreements in January 1978 culminated in the peace treaty with Israel in March 1979. Nasser's struggle for national independence, Arab Unity and socialism ended in complete surrender to Zionism, Capitalism and Imperialism.

The use of religion under Sadat followed the same path, but differently. Religion was used as an agent of counter revolution. In sociological terms, religion was used as a factor for social stablity. If Nasser had used religion to fend off attacks from the outside, namely Arab reactionaries, Sadat used it against his political opponents from the inside, the Nasserists, Marxists, socialists, Democrats, Arab Nationalists, Muslim revolutionaries and all progressives. Most of them were unified in the opposition party, "Unionist, progressive, national front." In Nasser's case, Arab reactionaries began to use religion as a political weapon against Nasser. In Sadat's case, he himself began to use religion against his political opponents, although his opponents never used it as a political weapon against him. He began his religious attack as a political attack, being unable to enter a political dialogue with his opponents. He just attacked them, even though they did not attack him. He made the attack and the counter-attack, especially after the uprising of January 1977 and their challenge to his regime.

Sadat in his political speeches used religion for two reasons. Firstly, he propagated traditional religious values of

faith, patience, love, tolerance, which had no direct relation to income distribution like equity and social justice, rather an indirect one as motives for the acceptance of the status quo. Secondly, he attacked atheism, seemingly to discredit his political opponents in the eyes of the masses.

Under Sadat, the famous Nasserist theme “Islam and Socialism" took another turn. Islamic socialism was conceived in opposition to socialism. The rights of the poor were to be guaranteed without hatred and violence against the rich, but with love and brotherhood.

Islamic law gave the head of the State the right to take the money surplus from the rich without hatred or envy, as under Nasser [(20)].

Sadat tried to find a link, at least a verbal one, between the revision of the tax laws and the Nasserist tradition of Islam and socialism. He did not succeed. According to Sadat, the new laws realized social justice desired by God. Wealth was owned by God. Man had it only as a deposit. The famous theory Istikhlaf was used to justify the rights of the poor to share in the wealth of the rich. Nasser had stipulated that people's wealth was for the people. Sadat needed a cover-up, a camouflage for the gap between what was declared and what was practiced. Lack of sincerity and truthfulness needed religious compensation to persuade the masses easily by words and hopes based on religious eschatology. The new tax laws were not related to religion. Sadat's policy of gaining as much as you can, provided you pay your taxes to the State, had nothing to do with either socialism or Islam. It was a capitalistic dictum based on a free economy as declared in the open-door policy. The State appeared

as a partner, as a big business man. Wealth was finally shared between the State and private sector. Taking into consideration tax evasion and the mentality of the businessmen, the wealth of the people was usurped from them.

Sadat's religious slogans were not social. They were faith, patience, predestination, resignation, guidance, love, tolerance, brotherhood. All the values he advocated were of the same passive type, tending to make the masses receptive to anything "from above-- religious authority first and political authority second.

Religion was the guide for each person because it gave him the distinction between the legal and the illegal, as if man could not be ethical without being religious. Religion here was a mean of social control not of social development.

None of these values described social relations between man and man. All of them described an individual relationship between man and God. The horizontal was reversed to the vertical, as in all conservative and mystical ideologies. The common was converted to the private in order to destroy social aspects in religion and keep its individual aspects. The outside world was sacrificed for the benefit of the inside world. This happened not for the sake of secularism as in the West, but for the sake of capitalism and dictatorship.

Compared to Nasser's socialism, where "Law of justice was the law of God," there was no mention of law of justice in socialism, and the law of God became absolutely formal. It is true that this Introvert interpretation of religion began under Nasser after the 1967 defeat, but only as a temporary mood, as in every

culture in moments of defeat, internal or external, mysticism in Islam and Messianism in Judaism. Sadat took the accidental moment in Egypt's recent history and made it substantial, as if religion per se was introvert not extrovert, vertical not horizontal. This accidental religious version aimed to support Sadat's regime, which itself was a historical accident in Egypt's life.

Even when Sadat mentioned the same social values in Islam, like the Zakat, as Nasser did, as an obligation to realize social solidarity and for village development, he meant a religious imperative rather than a social measure [21].

In order to oppose any use of religion for social change, as Muslim revolutionaries did, or for political opposition, as the Muslim Brethren did, Sadat conceived religion as purely ritualist. Religion had nothing to do with politics. Religion was for the house of worship and politics were for political institutions. Religion, for Sadat, was also the domain of philosophy and speculation, but not for social or political practice. Sadat wanted to empty religion from its activity and energy, having in mind political opposition from the left as well as from the right. That is why Sadat considered Khumeini as his first enemy, as if he was the Shah of Iran and Muslim Brethren were Khumeinis. Sadat could not conceive an anti-Imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-Capitalist religious revolution. For Sadat, Khumeini was a murderer, although he was in fact a new Nasser in the name of religion.

Many socialist ideas remained verbal and repetitious. It is easy to over-bid on Nasser's socialism. The poor have a right in the wealth of the rich because these rights do not go beyond level

of words. Realities followed another course, that of open door policy and laissez-faire economy. If the distance between slogans and realities during Nasser's time was visible, it became pure hypocrisy and complete dissociation between words and facts under Sadat. Social justice in Islam is not only a series of scriptural arguments but seeks to measure the distance between ideals and realities.

The distinction between socialism--which became neither Arab nor Scientific but democratic-- and Marxism became the cornerstone in Sadat's regime. Marxism, according to Sadat, rejected religion in spite of its pretension that this early Marxist position had changed. Nothing official had yet come out confirming that change, as if changing ideas needed a presidential decree! So it was claimed that Khaddafi agents in Egypt as well as Nasserists were atheist Marxists. The opposition party was under atheist Marxists' control. The people rejected such corrupted and atheistic ideas because they were believers. Those who requested democracy were also atheist, while democracy itself, Sadat offered, was not atheistic!

Once atheism was used as a political weapon by political authority against political opposition, it was also used by religious opposition against political authority and the political system as a whole. The group of Shukri Mustapha called (Gama'at Al-Takfir wa Al-Hijra) used the same weapon of atheism against the political regime, and the former minister of religious endowments paid his life for it [(21)].

Sadat insisted on dialogue and wanted to brainwash the revolutionary vanguard, which tried to impose socialist

revolution on the people under Nasser! Dialogue meant the absence of political opposition and class distinctions. The dialogue between two opposite interest groups ended in practice by the domination of the high class on the lower class and of political authority on the Masses.

Patriarchal ethics appeared, showing the dictatorial aspect of the regime, like respect due to the family father, to the president as head of the Egyptian family, to the teacher of the college, to the Imam of the mosque, to the minister. All of them represented this patriarchal image, to whom every one owed respect and veneration. The best film was "Respect Your Parents," where the son returned to his parents asking forgiveness for his disobedience. The worst film, news paper, political party, or student union was that one carrying social criticism!

Any revolt against authority was shame "Eib."! Every journalist, devotee [(22)], student, writer, and politician had to conform to traditional values, respect and obedience to authority, otherwise his behavior would have been shameful! Sadat even asked the People's Assembly to decree a "Law of Shame" and create a Parliamentary Committee of Shame to judge the behavior of the deputies who opposed or criticized. The ethics of the village prevented any revolt or opposition. The ethics of Egypt was that of acceptance, not that of rejection!

The epigram, "Science and Faith," became the label of the regime and the foundation of the modern State. Science indeed was a Western concept in the people's mind, and one which opened the door to Western technology in authority's mind. Technology imports went parallel to luxury goods imports and to the open-door

policy mentality. Faith was a traditional value, receptive in structure, in order to accept whatever was given to them from any external authority, whether the West, political authority or Divine Will. God served here as a back door through which Westernization, with all its consequences like Capitalism, and Imperialism and dictatorship entered. Faith, traditionally understood, did not help the people to move, to protest or to oppose.

That is why any political opposition was easily accused of lack of faith, atheism or serving as agents of the Soviet Union. Faith was defined as the acceptance of Divine Will, which meant the impossibility of opposition. The Nasserist concept of the will to change would have been the real content of faith without religious hypocrisy.

Scriptural arguments were indeed more used in religious justification in Sadat's speeches than in Nasser's. They served to fill the gap of socio-political analysis. Statistical data was absent in Sadat speeches in order not to unveil the maldistribution of wealth. Scriptural arguments were directed towards religious feelings, while socio-political analysis based on statistical data was directed towards reason. The relation between religious feelings and reason is similar to the relation between hypocrisy and truthfulness. Moreover, Sadat used to end his political speeches by Qur'anic verses showing modesty, possibility of error, request for more Divine guidance, affirmation of the ephemeral life all to ease the masses and to have more credibility.

From this description of the power elite use of religion as a defensive mechanism in its power struggle, we can draw the following conclusions:

1- The use of Islam to justify socialism under Nasser or to oppose socialism under Sadat was not needed to fill the theoretal gap the revolution left. The Egyptian revolution indeed recognized the absence of an a priori theory and was proud of its pragmatic socialism, based on trial and error. The absence of theory was a leftist criticism, not that of Arab reaction, which on the contrary viewed Arab Socialism as an imported prefabricated theory.

2- The common idea that Nasser's socialism was Islamic was inaccurate. Nasser's socialism was purely secular in all its phases: the six principles declared after the revolution in 1952; the four major ideas of social justice, equity, equal opportunities, and dissolving class distinctions in 1952-56; Democratic cooperative socialism in 1957-60, Arab Socialism in 1961-64; or in Sadat's Democratic Socialism in 1977-79.

Nasser used Islam as a defensive mechanism against Arab reactionary regimes, which had already used Islam to attack Nasser's threatening socialism. Nasser wanted to disarm his rival regimes from their sharpest weapon, namely religion. Islam was a part in a bigger game, that of power struggle between opposite political regimes. Each one gave its own version of Islam. The conflict of interpretation, Islamic Socialism versus Islamic capitalism, was indeed a conflict between two different political regimes, socialist progressive in Egypt and feudalist conservative in Saoudi Arabia. Religion was only a tool for the consolidation of each regime.

3- The power elite use of Islam to defend socialism under Nasser had no impact whatsoever on income distribution in Egypt. The struggle was against Arab reactionaries who attacked Nasser's socialism to defend themselves. It was a matter of

power struggle between Arab regimes and not a matter of internal development in Egypt. The battle was between two leaderships in the Arab World. Each wanted to be a pole of attraction for the Arab Masses. The battle occurred on the summit between two kings, not at the bottom between two social classes, with conflicting interests inside Egypt. Once revolutionary leadership disappeared with the death of Nasser, and a counter-revolutionary one came in its place, the whole political regime changed. Neither regime was able to manipulate institutions and masses as it wanted. Both institutions and masses were mere recipients of Islam as a factor for social change under Nasser and as factor for social stability under Sadat. It was the type of regime, revolutionary or counter revolutionary, and not religion, whether its socialist or feudalist version, which had an impact on income distribution in Egypt.

III - Religious and Secular Institutions Use of Religion as Justification for Political Decisions of the Power-Elite

Religious and secular institutions in the Arab and Muslim World, except in Iran and the Shi'ite States, were historically a part of the States. Ulamas, writers, professors, journalists, artists were all employees of the State. They received their salaries from the governments. They had no independence in their life sustenance or in their opinions. The same institution would issue two contradictory statements according to the wish of two different political authorities.

Therefore, every political regime from the two conflicting ones in the Arab World, progressive and conservative, have used religious institutions to serve the regime. Under Nasser, Islam

was a socialist religion and socialism was Islamic, while under Sadat, Nasserist Socialism was Marxism and Islam was an anti-Marxist religion. The same religious institution, often with the same men on the top, issued two conflicting legal opinions. Scriptural arguments and historical evidences from Islam were ready-made in both cases, at the wish of political authorities.

In both cases, political authority denied its interference in the opinions of religions leaders. They insisted that religious institutions acted on their own! Under Nasser, Al-Azhar issued a legal opinion (Fatwa) against Kassem, accusing him of atheism. Nasser, in an interview with the Indian Journalist Karangiya, denied using Islam for political propaganda. Whether religious leaders launched their legal opinions against Kassem following Nasser's directions or on their own, in both cases, they followed the same line of political authority. The minister of religious endowments, Sheikh of Al-Azhar, head of Islamic Research Council, head of Islamic Congress, Imam of the mosques, Minister of Information, head of Radio and Television, Press Chief-editors and journalists, Rectors of Universities and even the heads of political parties, all of them were appointed by the State. All followed the State's policy either by function or by order. In many cases, they followed the line by voluntary action, to please the authority even without being asked. They were "plus royaliste que le Roi." They competed and rushed in, offering their services. Slaves always know how to fulfill the desires of their masters.

Although political authority used them, it had no respect for them, knowing that they were hypocrites. Nasser disapproved

religion as business. Unfortunately, according to Nasser, the clergy made religion a business.

Religious leaders worked for whoever paid more. They worked once for feudalists and issued legal opinions in their benefit. They worked also for capitalists and issued other legal opinions defending private property and free economy and prohibiting nationalization. Although Nasser himself used the clergy and paid them, he despised them. He described them as those who sold their legal opinions to fill their stomachs, even cheaply, like a simple goose being force-fed! [(23)].

All the State machinery came to help. Under Nasser, religious institutions used religion to defend socialism. Secular institutions used religion to defend socialism. Secular institutions like universities, political institutions, academic societies, research centers injected religion in their educational and research programs, approving the progressive type of Islam.

The Islamic research council approved limits of ownership in Islam and gave the head of state the right of nationalization if private onwership was against the common interests of the community. Islam prohibited absolute ownership and confiscated the wealth of the idiots and of all those who misused their wealth. Islam also prohibited land holding without investment and prevented the accumulation of big land ownership in a few hands, leaving the majority of the peasants landless. Wealth could not be stored in a few hands to prevent dangers of monopoly and exploitation. The council issued a legal opinion giving political authority the right to interfere in ownership if it damages common interests. Usurped or suspicious wealth should

be given back to their real owners, otherwise it should be confiscated by the State. Political authority had the right to taxation on the rich for the common benefit [24].

The high council of Islamic Affairs published many books defending Nasser's socialism on Islamic bases. The council published in a series called “Islamic Essays and Studies", "the National Charter," as if it was an Islamic document and to put it bluntly, "National Charter's call is an Islamic call", also, "Law of Justice is Law of God," copying a Nasser epigram. Other studies aimed to show the socialist content of Islam, prohibiting usury, putting limits on private ownership, exposing Islamic concepts of equity and its measures against hunger [25]. The council also published many Islamic books on Arab Socialism, where Islam was portrayed as a forming factor.

The ministry of endowments distributed to all the Imams in the mosques Friday speeches, concentrating on socialism in Islam and concepts of social justice and equity. It created two series “Imam’s Library" and "Orator's Stock” to standardize Friday speeches on social issues in Islam, on themes of Justice and equity in Islam, the holiness of work in Islam, workers rights in Islam, social values in Islam, warnings against waste and urging limits on consumption.

The Arab Socialist union created a special Bureau for religious Affairs, to carry the campaign of Islam and socialism. It aimed to attack Arab reactionaries and to unveil their use of religion to exploit the Arab masses. The Bureau made regular meetings with the Ulamas, mosques Imams and supervisors to give them ideological directions to communicate to the believers. The

Buro held several lectures and symposiums on Islam and socialism. The Newspaper, “The Socialist," published several articles on religion and socialism and waged the battle against reactionary interpretation of Islam. The political catechism of the party, written to educate "Youth Organization" members contained sections on the progressive type of Islam, similar to the sections in the "National Charter" on religion and progress in general.

Secular institutions entered the battle and competed with religious institutions. The universities made Arab Socialism a subject matter in the university curriculum, under several titles: 23 of July revolution, Arab Nationalism, Arab Socialism and finally national curriculum. Academicians competed with religious leaders and wrote on Islam and Marxism (27). Professors and Ulamas worked hand in hand to serve political authority, and forgot their old quarrels on modernization and secularization. Most of the monthly reviews published by the ministry of culture, or by the ministry of endowments, presented many articles in special issues on Islam and socialism (28). All writers followed Nasser in his justification of Arab Socialism, defending himself and attacking his opponents. Several apologetic books were written after 1962 on "Islam and Socialism". Almost in every book on socialism, there was a chapter on Islamic socialism or on the bases of socialism in the Islamic spiritual heritage (30).

The mass-media (Radio, Television, Press) participated in the campaign. Many programs were broadcast or on the same subject, Islam and Socialism". The religious pages published on Fridays contained several articles on social justice and equity in Islam. Religious occasions, festivals and saints birthdays were

good occasions to hail the high socialist type of saint. Artists wrote several dramas, novels and poems on the struggle between the rich and poor. Several songs were composed by famous singers on socialism (31).

Nasser died and Sadat came. The same writers participated in the process of Denasserization. They followed the new standing political authority. Employees of the State, frightened about possible loss of their jobs and daily bread, they were all ready to justify whatever they were asked for. Religious and secular institutions were State institutions. They were always ready to work with political authority. The king is dead, long live the new king!

Secular institutions under Sadat worked much more than religious institutions. Firstly, Sadat did not need any religious justification for his gradual Denasserization, from May 15, 1971 till his recognition of Zionism in 1979. The ruling class had both economic and political power supported by The U.S.A. and international corporations. Secondly, Sadat's regime was not based on ideology like socialism under Nasser and did not have national goals like those of Nasser, such as Arab nationalism, non-alignment, decolonization, anti-Zionism. It was more difficult for institutions to justify a non-ideological regime like Sadat's. Justification needed to deal with ideas, doctrines and systems. Third, there were no such people as Sadatists, as under Nasser. Sadat had no doctrinal followers. Those who wrote in his favor were surely professionals, doing business and had real interests in doing so. They could not form a trend in Egyptian political life. Fourthly, Sadat had no intelligentia to justify him. Egyptian

intelligencia from all political trends stepped away from him. The right (Muslim Brethren) and the left (Unionist, progressive, national front), the liberals (New Wafd Party) and the free officers (Nasser's companions). All were against Sadat. The unrecognized professors from the universities, a left-over of Egyptian intelligentia, dummy and stupid careerists, tried to justify Sadat. But they were unable to persuade or to convince anybody, even the simplest citizen. They had no impact whatsoever on the people. On the contrary, they were despised even by the semi-intellectuals and of course the totality of the Egyptian intelligentia.

Academicians headed by the former rector of Cairo university and the actual Speaker of the People's Assembly were asked to play their constant game of justification, which they did in two documents, "Democratic Socialism" by the High Universities Council (The green book) in July 1977, and "Our Democratic Socialism: Ideology of the May 15 Revolution" (The white book) in July 1978. Sadat's rectification movement became a revolution! In the first document, religion became the principal foundation of the new anti-Nasserist ideology. Each university competed with the other in expressing its religious zeal, to please political authority and to have more credit and consequently more high positions for its staff. Although a university did not form a homogeneous opinion, a political appointee of the regime chose what the political authority wanted. No wonder that the former rector of Cairo Unversity, the Chief of Universities High Council, the head of the program committee in the Old Misr Party, transformed to the National Democratic Party, was chosen as the Speaker of the People's Assembly. In the second paper,

written by the same Sufi Abu Taleb and rewritten with the collaboration of competing staff, religion became The source of the ideology and the main foundation of the regime.

Both documents tried to formulate the theory of balance (Tawazun) as the main theory in the ideology of the center party, the National Democratic Party, the heir of the dead Misr Party, which had been held responsible for its incapacity during the January 1977 uprising. This balance is realized between individual and social interests, between the material and the spiritual, between this world and the other world, and between science and faith. Faith is the vehicle of this balance. This idea is indeed the opposite idea of social transformation and class struggle. A “balance” can be made between these two elements once they have equal weight.

This never happens except in utopian societies. In actual societies, there is always an imbalance between these elements, especially between class interests. To realize the balance in a society tending towards the other world is to give it a new value-system based on the priority of this world and opposite to any other mystical, introverted or passive value-system like Sadat's. To realize the balance in a society tending towards the individual and the free economy, like Sadat's, a new value system is needed, giving the priority to the social over the individual, or to oriented economy over free economy. In a society tending towards the spiritual or towards faith, a balance is realized by stressing the importance of the material and of science. The ideology of balance, is aimed essentially at keeping the status quo. It is based on complete imbalance between class interests, in the name of

religion. Even if a dozen of scriptural arguments were used to justify ideas of "balance", "center", and "moderation," they all served as a religious cover-up for actual maldistribution of national wealth. Any effort to realize social Justice and equity was described as anti-religious.

In "Democratic Socialism", appeared the same common legal opinion that Islam permitted ownership limitations, for the common interest, by the intervention of the State. All Muslim jurists agreed on Istikhlaf, which means in modern terms that ownership is a social function. God owns every thing and man is only a depositary. He can use, invest and benefit but he cannot misuse, exploit or monopolize. The Islamic system is based on solidarity and security for every believer. Solidarity even exists with animals, as a natural disposition. Tanta University outbid and the staff mentioned scriptural arguments from the sayings of the prophet to support the idea. The poor have a right in the wealth of the rich [(33)]. Those social slogans were incompatable with practiced policies, like free economy and open-door policy. Religious apologetics of social solidarity remained verbal, without any impact on decision making process. It served only as a religious cover-up for anti-social practices and policies.

The real upper-class doctrines appeared in both documents. For example, work ethics under Nasser became leisure class ethics under Sadat. Although work is a holy right it was not considered as the only source of income. Wealth can be obtained from work, but work was not the only and exclusive source of wealth. The theory here legalized commissions, speculations,

bribes and all forms of corruption. It legalized also "parasite capital" of the middle and upper classes.

After the January 1977 uprising, which Sadat used to describe as thief, not a as a popular uprising, and during the three days curefew, Radio and Television broadcasted a major speach of the ministry of religious endowments, Sheikh Mohammed Metwalli Sharawi, a real T.V. figure in Egypt and in Saoudi Arabia, dressed in white, with a long beard and actor's movements, justifying price increases, the direct cause of the popular uprising. If a Doctor prescribes a bitter medicine for a sick person, to cure him, so did the government, increasing prices for the people, for the sake of a healthy national economy. Afterwards, the T.V. showed the play “Trouble Makers School” describing students as stupid rejectors of the school master!

`Religious institutions did not justify Sadat's open-door policy because, first, it was not easy to justify, given the socialist aspect of Islam. Secondly, there were no attacks from outside using religion against Sadat's free economy policies. Progressive Arab regimes after Sadat's "Volte-face" did not use religion against him as Saoudi Arabia did to Nasser, because they were secularist regimes. Thirdly, the open-door policy had its defendants in the real social structure in Egypt, supported by the middle and upper classes, which are the ruling class. The power-elite did not need to justify itself except in moments of danger. The religious left inside Egypt was invisible. It worked as a very tiny proportion within the opposition party and had very little room for maneuver.

The Mass-Media waged a compaign promising the people abundance in the year 1980, and complete economic salvation in the year 2000. Egypt then will become a part of America! Green revolution, food security, desert colonization, drawing a new map for Egypt. All were magic plans which will fulfill these promises. This futuristic economic salvation was based essentially on religious messianism, the hope in the future in a better life and in a better world.

Political institutions issued laws using religion as a factor for stability. The application of Islamic law was given in 1976 as major directives for all institutions to implement. The penal code in Islam, and above all chopping thief's hand and wine interdiction, was discussed in the People's Assembly. The Supreme Court, in 6/8/1977, agreed on the Anathema law, imposing capital punishment or ten years in jail, in case of repetitious Anathema.

Now, asking the question: had religious and secular institutions using religion to justify political and social decisions of the power elite any impact on income distribution in Egypt? The answer is negative for the following reasons:

1– Religious and secular institutions were not independent institutions. They followed the political authority and defended political and social decisions. The real and decisive factor on distribution was the type of the power elite, Nasser's revolutionary type or Sadat's counter revolutionary type. The Masses knew it. They did not even believe in the religious institutions behind Nasser as a charismatic leader fulfilling social demands for equity and social justice. They were also behind Sadat, through his promises of abundance and the mass-media

role in the mystification of national consciousness. Religious institutions used religion to legalize authority decisions on the level of mass consciousness, being a direct factor in income distribution. The determining factor is not even the political decisions through the social structure.

2- There is a credibility gap between religious institutions and mass consciousness. The Masses knew from first hand sources, namely their direct experiences, that religious leaders and all men at the top are the State's appointees. They say what pleases political authorities. All institutions are parts of the government. Even the opposition political party is a part of the government. The Masses lost their confidence in the State machinery, in spite of their obedience. In the January 1977 uprising, the Masses destroyed police stations, mass-media buildings, State political party centers, night-clubs and opened food stores distributing food stock to the hungry "riff-raff'. State institutions cracked down. In two days the country was in the hands of the disillusioned street masses.

3- Muslim Brethren and leftist opposition are the only two groups which have a certain credibility in the eyes of the masses. The first stood against Nasser's dictatorship inside and the evacuation treaty in 1954, giving the British the right to return back to Egypt in time of war. Abd El-Kader 'Ouda and Sayed Qutb are still viewed as two hero martyrs and high examples of militant Muslim scholars. The Leftist opposition has its audience in the workers and intellectuals. Some Marxists continued to oppose Nasser, asking for more socialist measures. All progressives opposing Sadat's political and economic surrender to international capitalism and Zionism still have mass sympathy, although undeclared and unexpressed.

IV - Mass-Culture as an Ambiguous Historical Continuum for Equity and Inequity

Although there was a clear distinction between the revolutionary power elite under Nasser and the counter revolutionary one under Sadat, this distinction became much less salient on the level of religious institutions under both leaderships. Both had the same function of justification with a slight difference of commitment, zeal and conviction, much less under Sadat than under Nasser. On the level of mass-culture, nothing changed, whether under Nasser's revolutionary power elite and his powerful religious institutions justification, or under Sadat's counter revolutionary elite and his professional religious institutions justification. Mass-culture remained as the traditional historical continuum, untouched, whether by the power elite or by religious institutions.

The use of religion as mass-culture was natural. Religion is a popular tradition. It can serve as an easy way to indoctrinate the masses. Religion in developing countries plays the same role as political ideologies in developed countries.

Nasser did not use mass-culture, as Sadat did later, for several reasons. First, Nasser depended on his charismatic leadership and his powerful mass-media. Nasser did not even believe in the masses, although he expressed their hopes and fulfilled their needs. Sadat did not have the same charismatic figure. He needed to convince the masses by his leadership after ousting the Nasserists from power in his coup of May 15, 1971. He felt deeply unpopular after the usurpation of power from the

Nasserists and the old Revolutionary Command Council. Some of them were still living, and all of them were in the opposition. Sadat needed to legalize his authority, first by bowing in front of Nasser's statue in the People's Assembly and second by Denasserizing and using mass-culture to regain his credibility. Religion as the main stream in mass-culture was the easiest way to convince and to persuade.

Second, Nasser's regime was strong inside and outside the country. He did not need to strengthen his regime by defending himself and attacking the opposition via mass-culture. Nasser’s strength came from his historical figure, his national struggle since 1952, his revolutionary elite, his Arab audience and his popular support, manifested in his weakest moment in June, 9 and 10, 1967. On the contrary, Sadat's regime was not that strong. He came after a coup d'etat on May 15, 1971 and was not the most eligible person to succeed Nasser. Nasserists, Marxists, free officers, the Arab Socialist Union, the Army, the mass media were all against him. Nothing was left except to depent on a falsified mass consciousness, through the use of mass-culture, to acquire popular support.

Third, Nasser's national goals of freedom, socialism and unity expressed the hopes of the masses without any need to convince them. The Masses were eager for freedom and Social Justice. They were a part of a larger Arab masse. On the contrary, Sadat had no national goals. Democracy was the weakest point in Nasser's regime, which Sadat wanted to play with. But he ended by being more dictator than Nasser.

Socialism changed to open door policy. Arab Unity reversed to Egyptian isolationism. These setbacks required mass persuasion through mass-culture.

Fourth, Nasser's struggle for socialism was outside Egypt, against Arab reactionaries, Kings and princes. He did not need to address himself to the Egyptian people, who applauded socialism and approved it. He did not need the use of mass-culture to convince the people of something which they already approved. On the contrary, Sadat's burden was to convince the Egyptian people by the legality of his leadership and of his new American and Zionist alliances. Since the masses were politically illiterate, Sadat used their traditional value-system as a carrier of his political intentions, like a magician hypnotizing mass consciousness.

Fifth, Nasser's political evidence did not need justification from mass-culture. His political ideas were clear and self evident. They did not need any effort of conviction or persuation. Sadat, on the contrary, needed to convince the people of Denasserization, his open-door policy and his Zionist alliance. After the peace initiative, Camp David agreements and the peace treaty with Israel, Sadat needed more and more to use mass-culture to defend himself against Arab attacks and to justify his deviation from the permanent elements in Egyptian politics. Mass-culture was the only way left to him.

However, since June 1967, Nasser had appealed to three main categories in Egyptian Mass-culture, Religion, faith and predestination. He wanted to make the people absorb the sweeping defeat and give them confidence in a quick and certain victory.

Leaders appealed to mass-culture in their weakest moments. Nasser looked for internal and moral support against the external enemy, Israel. He did not need these religious categories for domestic problems, namely, income distribution. Nasser's appeal to popular religion did not come as he affirmed, from his deep religious education, but from the desire of a political regime to overcome its defeat, using an unquestionable hold upon which every one agreed. Nasser explained his gift of improvising political speeches by his religious education in the Qur'anic school and his religious master, the center of the village, to give himself some religious authority in the eyes of the masses after his leadership was shaken. Most of Nasser's allusions to popular religion were short, repetitious and without any rational justification. The Masses, religiously passionate and culturally illiterate, needed only that kind of lamentation. All nations, in moments of defeat, return to their own soul in hopes of an easy victory, since the external world was too difficult to handle. Messianism and eschatology were a real psychological compensation for military defeats.

The first category Nasser used was religion as a reaction against the Ba'thist regime in Syria, which described the Nasserist regime as atheistic!

The Egyptian people, according to Nasser, was a religious one, even the most religious of all peoples on earth. Religion made its unity. Even if Radio Damascus described Nasser's book "Philosophy of Revolution" as based on rotten religious ideas, the Egyptian people, Christians as well as Muslims, were always

proud of their religiosity. Masses and leadership, both were religious. No religious masses without religious leadership. The Egyptian revolution succeeded because of this common element between masses and leadership. The Arab Nation itself was a religious nation throughout all its history. No irreligious leadership can come to power and rule a religious nation. If leadership denies religion or deviates from it, the people themselves will oust it, or oblige it to come back to religion. Only ideas based on religion can be planted and grown in such a people. The revolution was able to overcome its enemies, thanks to religion. It was able to solve its major problems, thanks to religion. Universities were holding onto religion. Religion was at the heart of the country. Here Nasser made an appeal to the center of the masses' life. Religion became a rescue-boat for the people to be brought safely to the shore of victory.

Religion, for Nasser, was also the right path, which gave man directions in his life. Religion was the guide for each person because it gave him the capacity to distinguish between the legal and the illegal. Religion gave the right norms of behavior. It was the condition of good morals because it gave criteria of right and wrong, of good and evil. This legalistic view of religion was irrational because reason could not, on its own, arrive at these norms. It has been greatly used by Sadat to strengthen his ritualistic approach to religion, in order to empty it of its social content.

The second category Nasser appealed to was faith. It is true that the "National Charter" mentioned five guarantees for revolutionary action. These were Will to change, revolutionary

vanguard, deep consciousness, open thought and the fifth was an unshaken faith in God and his holy messages, sent to humanity in truth and for guidance, in every time and space. This fifth pillar became, after the defeat of 1967, the only one. A similar statement appeared at the end, describing the people having a strong faith in God and in themselves, which enabled them to impose their will on life and to formulate it according to their hopes. Faith is the strongest feeling in man. Feeling is the highest thing in him, for which man can sacrifice himself. Man dies because he has faith in something, for his ideal, given to him by God for the country and for the nation. Faith was used by Nasser especially for the moral edification of his troops after the 1967 defeat. Faith was the road of his troops after the 1967 defeat. Faith was the road to victory because only Will can transform defeat to victory. Faith in God, expressed by Nasser, was faith in the country. It was not void and formal, as it became later by Sadat. It had a national content [(36)].

The third category Nasser selected from the national culture was predestination. The 1967 defeat was a (fatum). Asked how he transformed the defeat into victory, Nasser replied that this happend through believing in predestination. Each nation, not only Egypt, was defeated. Defeat was each nation's destiny. But believing in destiny needed work, energy and patience. Defeat was a temptation from God. The declaration of March 30, 1968 carried this fatalistic view. The Will of God is above any other will. Nasser, in front of the people, tried to regain some of his credibility through popular fatalism, although he knew that defeat was caused by material and objective

reasons, including lack of military preparation, hasty political decisions. However, Nasser rebuilt the army and reviewed his political options. He appealed to fatalism as a quick and easy shock treatment to reestablish the lost confidence between the people and their leader. Nasser never used predestination for social reasons to obstruct social transformation or to retract some of his political decisions regarding social justice [(37)].

The three later years in Nasser's rule (1967-70), when Nasser appealed to religion as the main stream in mass-culture, were the origin of Sadat's constant appeal to religious categories in mass-culture. Sadat used the same religious categories as Nasser did, and even more of them, not to gain a moral and spiritual support against the external enemy, Israel, but to use them as a stabilizing factor for his illegal and shaky authority, in spite of the several referendums giving him almost a 99.99% popular support. He used them also to discredit his political opponents, who wanted to continue Nasser's socialist line.

Sadat used the same categories from popular religion which Nasser used after the defeat in his last three years. Religion. for Sadat, is only rituals. It does not require anything else except performing prescribed rituals. Ritualistic Islam was also used in Saoudi Arabia for the same reasons, to distract people's attention from the social foundation of Islam. That is why Saoudi Arabia was very interested in that kind of Islam and supported it. Egypt also yielded to the Saoudi version of Islam and abnegated the threatening Nasserist one. More mosques were built, prayers were called for five times a day in the mass-media, the veil was put on,

the beard pushed, fasting and pilgrimage festivities appeared. The President himself was shown as the first practicing Muslim in the mass-media, praying in the village and mosque, dressing in white, having the patriarchal stick in his hand, having the rosary in the other hand, the prayer's mark on his forehead, firming the eyes, murmuring by the lips and having the title of the “believing president". Ritualistic Islam became religious hypocrisy. Government official letters were headed by the, name of God. The Higra calendar was used in official publications, especially of Sadat's speeches. Prayer places were managed in all government buildings. The Feasts calendar was harmonized with Saoudi Arabia, the center of Islam! Extra religious programs and pages were added in the mass-media, next to moviestars news. Millions of Qur'anic copies were printed and put on desks, cars, windows, tables and exchanged as gifts and prizes, but never opened and read [(38)]. Hassan Al-Tuhami, a fanatic Muslim mystic and a fascist old free officer, believing in spirits and communications with the dead, is on the top of the regime, the maker of peace with Israel.

When ritualistic Islam by the Islamic groups showed some activity, Sadat then preferred to conceive Islam only as pure philosophy. Islam has nothing to do with practice or action. Islam means meditation without relation to action. Sadat's aim was to empty religion from its practical content and from active life in order that it not be used by Islamic groups for political action. At the most, it is an individual matter which has nothing to do with social life. Religion is something private, not public. Nobody can use religion for political or social aims. Sadat made his peculiar announcement that religion was distinct from politics. Religion is

to be practiced in the houses of worship, while politics are to be practiced in political institutions. Once again, Sadat disarms his political opponents from the use of religion to claim social justice or to call for democratic life. Although Nasser asked religious leaders to stop preaching only inside mosques and to come down to the market place in villages and in towns, Sadat conceived the role of religion in internal and spiritual life, not in the external and material world. This role prescribed to religion can be accepted easily by popular religion [39].

Like Nasser and even more, Sadat stressed also the category of faith, a popular and accepted truth in popular religion. Sadat's appeal had two functions: first, to gain credibility in the eyes of believing masses, to compensate for his regime's lack of historical and political legality. Faith was something common between leadership and the masses. Both were of the same kind. Second, to subdue the Will of the Masses, faith being acceptance without reasoning or objecting. Faith makes the people more docile and receptive. Sadat described faith as the substance of history. Peoples progressed and declined because of faith or lack of faith. Faith was power, the power of belief, not material power [40].

Faith was coupled with authenticity (Asalah) and Solidity (Salabah). The first meant the rejection of all "imported ideas," and above all Marxism, and going back to indigenous tradition. If faith was a movement towards God, authenticity is a movement towards spiritual heritage. Authenticity meant the "return to sources" and the affirmation of cultural identity in

order to reject all social movements in the name of Westernization or Easternization. The same concept was used in Iran during the Shah period to discredit all social and revolutionary trends [41].

The second concept of Solidity (Salabah) also meant the resistance against any social change threatening the regime. The structure has to be kept solid against all subversion, all threats to the status quo. Sadat's interpretation of the concept as solidity in truth against falsehood aimed essentially to defend social stability as true against social change as false[42].

Predestination is a result of faith. It is the acceptance of what happens without questioning or objecting. Sadat followed the late Nasser in his use of predestination, not as an easy psychological victory after 1967 defeat, but as an acceptance of everything which occurs in social and political-life. Nasser’s death, according to Sadat, was predestined. Nasser had to die! Nothing would have prevented him from death. Nasser's regime and what he stood for was ephemeral. Socialism is no more necessary. All miseries, disasters and calamities were the result of predestination. Social injustice and inequity were not caused by the maldistribution of wealth, which can be changed, but by a necessary situation refractory to human decisions! Disasters were temptations from God. That meant something good and positive, not caused by human decisions and political regimes. Defeat and victory came from God. Poverty and wealth also came also from God [43].

Patience, according to Sadat, was the way to change. Through patience, predestination will change itself by itself, from evil predestination to good predestination. It is a manifestation of faith. Through patience, defeat can be transformed into victory. Patience required silence. That meant the absence of vocal opposition and civil freedom. Indeed, patience is a passive value requiring from the people acceptance and resignation. Religion here was used as opium of the people [(44)].

Sadat took advantage of the good character of the Egyptian people and asked them to practice love and tolerance away from hatred and violence, to annul social contradictions in Eyptian society. Then came the call for the application of religious law and Qur'anic constitution, which meant punish the weak and the poor. This call served three aims: the affirmation of a religious type of political authority, an affirmation which makes the masses more obedient; second, giving a social model of law and order which is a static model, with a religious foundation; third, to cover up social contradictions and social conflicts by religious law based on the respect of other's property. This appeal to a passive value-system betrayed indeed a strong desire by political authority to dominate and to have power over every thing. The last call for the application of Islamic law was pure hypocrisy. Islamic law meant in this call hand chopping of the poor thieves, not of the rich ones; wine prohibition for Egyptian citizens not for Arab tourists. Islamic dress and rituals were stressed. In the same time, stars, naked models, and night clubs tax exemptions to encourage tourism! The lack of application of Islamic law became a cover-up for all social crimes.

The vertical dimension in religion took over the horizontal one. Work was not done in front of man and society but in front of God. Responsibility also was not in front of man and the people, but in front of God. Human consciousness directed political leaders, not people's wishes. This type of religious approach made religion an inspiration to follow the leader with complete obedience of the people. Every thing that came to the people came from God. His wealth, his daily bread, his natural resources-- all were gifts from God. Political regimes were then not responsible for poverty and maldistribution of wealth. Nothing could be done if God did not give! All the people can do is to pray to God, for his Divine Grace and wait for his generosity. Right political decisions came from God. God was the source of guidance. No opposition was possible once the political leader was guided by God to the right decision. One has to rely on God. Reliance (Tawakkul), according to Sadat, was one of the highest Islamic values. Sadat used to begin and end his political speeches with Qur'anic verses asking for forgiveness and guidance. Everything on earth was done for the sake of God. Science, knowledge and work all went to him. God is holy and perfect. He can do anything he wants without any objection to his will. Hence God became the model of a dictator. Sheikh Ashour was dismissed from the People's Assembly just because he wanted to apply the Qur'anic verse on Omnipotence only on God, not Sadat, as the minister of endowments Sheikh Metwalli Sha'rawi wanted. Sadat did not only use these traditional values from popular religion to legalize his authority and to gain the people's submission, but he used them also against political opposition, accusing any other value-system, religious or secular, of atheism. The judgment on the

internal beliefs and the sincerity of believers began in the early days of the revolution. Asked about the degree of religious freedom, whether anathema was acceptable in Islam and how the youth can be educated on religious principles far from religious business and superstition, Nasser's answer was limiting. Religious freedom was incompatible with sexual excitation. Although the constitution, article No 24 approved religious freedom, in practice the question of anathema was used as political weapon against political opponents. Even the 'National Charter" mentioned freedom of belief as the basis of a free national culture exempt of religious bigotry. But under Sadat, anathema became central in his attacks against political opposition, especially after the January 1977 popular uprising. In popular religion, an atheist is cast out, not only politically but also socially. The believing people will not accept atheists as members of the community. Anathema punishment is the death penalty. Lack of faith meant for Sadat lack of honesty. The aim was to prevent political opponents from any access to positions and to exclude them from all State institutions. Sadat's slogan "No place for an atheist in the Mass-Media," aimed at preventing all socialists from having any impact on the people regarding issues of equity and social justice. All evils came from the atheist left. Even the religious right was a reaction against the left. Although the emergence of religious rightist movements was natural in this atmosphere of religious zeal, Sadat interpreted it as a natural reaction to the atheist left and its control of the mass media. The atheist left and religious right for Sadat were similar to each other. Both used violence to impose their atheist or religious views on the people [46].

The opposition between material and spiritual values aimed also to discredit the atheist left. Nasser did not concieve an opposition between the two, but rather a complementarity. Those who opposed them were those who wanted to give priority to one or to the other. The Qur'an unified both. All progressive revolutions tried to harmonize between spiritual values of the people and their control of the means of production. The "National Charter" mentioned the spiritual values originating from religions and capable of man's guidance, giving him unlimited sources of energy. The same idea appeared in the March 30th, 1968 Declaration as a reaction to the material defeat. The idea became central in Sadat's thought, to attack material Marxism and the atheist left (47).

During Nasser's time sectarianism was almost absent. Muslims and Christians were both Arabs, worked together hand in hand, and struggled together against the Crusaders. National unity and national cause were both able to absorb any dangers of sectarianism. Nasser used this unity between Muslims and Christians in 1958 during the creation of the United Arab Republic, evoking the past model of this unity during the Crusades. Under Sadat, on the contrary, religious zeal did not prevent serious religious clashes between the Muslim majority and the Christian minority. Sadat used this religious bigotry to strengthen his power and to issue special decrees to consolidate his regime. Religious disorder could have degenerated into social disorder. Sectarianism could be a model for social conflict. The history of Egypt is well known by its national unity between Muslims and Copts. The revolution of 1919 was an example.

Sectarianism did not appear except when the State was weak. It helped the State in decreeing exceptional measures aiming at social stability under the pretext of preserving national unity. Religious fanaticism, like soccer fanaticism, was compensation for the absence of political parties, not only in Egypt, but in all underdeveloped and backward societies. Religious apparitions and miracles, like the virgin of Zeitoun under Nasser after the 1967 defeat and the Angels crossing the Canal fighting the Israelis with the Egyptians during the October War of 1973, deflected people's attention from political authority. Giving religion an absolute priority in national life is a manifestation of social and political crisis (48).

Sadat did not use the ambiguity of religious tradition regarding equity and social justice to prove that Islam was for free economy, represented by his open-door policy, because the other version of Islam, namely Islamic socialism, was quite strong and still living, at least on the level of words and hopes. But he chose traditional religious values, which can be supported by Mass Culture. Indeed, ideas of fatalism and patience were very common in popular proverbs. For example "What is written on the front is necessarily seen by the eye", "What is written cannot be escaped from", "Who escapes from God's destiny cannot escape from God". All of them requested the people to accept their destiny. Other proverbs denied man's initiative, like "Man poses, God disposes", "One (kirat) by chance, better than one feddan by work". Other proverbs made man's lot in life predetermined and unchangeable, like "Whom God chooses and loves, bring him his lot till his home", "The miserable stays

miserable, even if a lamp is hanged up on his door", "The oppressed stays oppressed and in the hereafter will be stoned;" "Even if you run as a beast, you will have only your lot"; it may be in your hand and predestinated to another person". Patience was also a part of mass-culture, as proverbs betray. For example, "Patience is good", "Patience is the medicine for everything but lack of patience has no medicine"; "The patient obtains while the impatient not"; "The medicine of patience is the grave". Nothing can be done except waiting, for instance, "Through waiting, hopes are realized"; "Through waiting, nothing is lost"; "Waiting destroys mountains"; "Life requires waiting". Nothing can be Done to change the status quo in income distribution, for instance "Poverty is respectful and wealth is disrespectful"; "Satisfaction is capital and goods"; "The bankrupt is in God's security"; "Who asks more gets less"; "The ship which takes is better than the ship which brings". Equity is realized only in death: "God made us equals in death". In this life there is only class structure: "People are divided into classes"; "Who Knows his class will be happy." This aspect of mass-culture made social change towards equity and social justice extremely difficult, as if class distinctions were inherent in mass consciousness.

However, other popular proverbs also betrayed a possibility of revolution and social change. Income redistribution in a more equitable way is possible. Several proverbs disapproved ritualistic Islam, passive values and religious hypocrisy. For instance, "Complaint is the weapon of the weak," which means the necessity of revolution, even through violence; Grow, give me date. Said: "This is my lot. The man said: my lot is in your hand".

This means nothing is prefixed from eternity. Therefore wealth can be redistributed. Predestination can be easily rejected and secondary causes admitted, according to other proverbs like “He opens his eyes to fly and say Divine predestination!" Religious hypocrisy also may be rejected in daily life, like "corrupt and making himself an Imam!;” "He gives legal opinion on the needle and swallows the Pitchfork", "He has the face of a pilgrim but the substance is the same," which means the impossibility of ritualistic Islam to change the real behavior of a person, "He prays the (Fard) but digs deeply in the Earth," which also means the impossibility of ritualistic Islam to change social relations; "He is like a cat having a rosary in the hand and steals,” which means that rituals do not necessarily generate honesty in social relations; "Only a man with full stomack can pray to God" that means material life comes before ritualistic Islam; "Give me your hat and I will give it to you back in the day of judgment.” That means the rejection of Eschatology as opium of the people in the person of Tartuffe. "What the house needs does not go to the mosque" which gives absolute priority to material needs in this world, over rituals; "Every peace of bread in the stomach of a hungry person is better than a construction on a mosque", which also means that war against hunger is the real Islam, not ritual. Neither the power elite nor religious institutions touched this aspect of mass-culture, calling for revolution and social change, which proves once more that the real factor in income distribution was not religious. The last proverbs could have motivated the masses if the power elite, especially the revolutionary type, had wished. The barriers were the authoritarian type of the power elite, plus the falsification of

national consciousness through the mass-media in the counter-revolutionary period. On the contrary, in several interviews with simple men, after taking away the superficial level of the falsified national consciousness, the quest for equity and social justice appeared very clearly as a natural and social demand. Nationalization was legal. The poor have the right to the wealth of the rich. Wealth belongs to God and serves the whole community. But these beliefs were ignored and rejected for the sake of religious ritualism, dogmatism and hypocrisy.

Religion appeared essentially as a call for equity and social justice. Nasser neglected this latent energy in the mass-culture and Sadat dropped it at the bottom of a falsified mass consciousness.

To conclude: Had mass-culture any impact on income distribution? To answer this question the following remarks are offered:

1- During Nasser's time, mass-culture was not used to motivate the people towards revolution and social change. The revolutionary aspect in it was left aside and its fatalistic aspect was even used by Nasser only to justify the 1967 defeat to the shocked masses. Instead of using mass-culture, Nasser professed secular ideas like socialism, social justice, equity, equal opportunities, dissolving class distinctions, freedom, decolonization, non-alignment. These did not touch the heart of the masses. They heard it but they did not react. They were not ready to die for it. Nasser died and his secular ideas died with him. Secularism did not help in developing traditional societies.

2- Mass-culture, in developing societies like Egypt's is the only substitute for political ideology. It is original, authentic and

active. The Masses do not need to be convinced by it. The question is how to use this mass-culture as a carrier of national goals. Mass-culture, like religious tradition, is ambiguous. The role of the ideologist or the political leader is to reinterpret it in a unilateral way. In the case of Egypt, only proverbs of equity, freedom, revolt may be used and focused upon. The reconstruction of mass culture as a carrier of national goals had not been done through the Egyptian revolution.

3- Egyptian mass-culture, at least, through popular proverbs, is tending towards predestination, stagnation, patience, inequity. These form a coherent passive value-system, admirably used by Sadat to consolidate the status quo and to defend social stability. It can serve very easily any regime based on class distinctions. All political decisions regarding equity and social justice, aiming at a more equitable income distribution, may fail, since mass-culture is refractory to any inherently active value-system which might motivate the masses towards social change.

4- Here, the importance of revolutionary Islam appears. The ambiguity of religious tradition is clarified through the actual circumstances of the people. Qur'anic verses on the rights of the poor, common property, equity, social justice, social solidarity, can come forward. Popular proverbs defending the same ideas are used to reinterpret these Qur'anic verses. When the Qur'an is so interpreted, through similar mass-culture defending people's national interests, these three element form a national political ideology which can absorb both progressive secularism (Nasser's type) and the conservative religious trend (Muslim Brethren type).

5- Popular uprisings like that of January 1977 can not continue in history and may always be limited to a few days because popular demands of equity and social justice are not tied to mass-culture with its two sides, the profane in popular proverbs and the sacred in the holy scriptures, the profane in popular heroes like Abu Zeid Al-Hilali and Adham Al-Sharkawi and the sacred in the historical figures like Omar and Abu Bakr. A religious left in Egypt just appeared. Revolutionary Islam in Iran and shortly in Afghanistan becomes more and more a model for a future Egyptian Revolution.

V - Conclusion

This analytical description has addressed three levels of the religious factor and income distribution, in terms of power elite, religious institutions and mass-culture. The analysis showed how ideas came out of socio-poltitical realities. Ideas are in dialectical relations with situations. They came out of them as a source and returned back to them as motivation. Sociology of knowledge helped in understanding these relations, where the classical distinction between superstructure and infrastructure disappears. Moreover, external influences on the power elite were eliminated. Social phenomena are built-in, not built-out. The method of influence and infiltration practiced in classical Orientalism aimed at evaporating indigenous phenomena, to empty them from their internal and autonomous content. Sociopolitical phenomena original creatively. They are not transplanted mechanically. Technical vocabulary passes easily from one culture to another. The illustration of ideas, models of

explanation or analytical methods can serve in the sub consciousness as points of reference, especially if the World's major political systems live with each other in dialogue. Finally, the background of the free officers, secular or religious, was not analysed in order not to fall into the genetic fallacy of psychogenetic determinism. The ideological background of the free officers was a part of the sociopolitical situation in Egypt before 1952. The three major trends adopted by the free officers (Islamic, Marxist and Nationalist) were in fact the same three trends in the intellectual and political life of Egypt since the beginning of this century.

To conclude, four results can be observed:

1 - Secularism and Islam.

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 was a secular revolution carrying out secular revolutionary ideas as in the famous six principles. Surely Islam is a constituent of the People's soul, but a latent one. Therefore, such a Western judgment, based on the distinction between secular and religious, is made only for the sake of research, using the technical vocabulary of Western disciplines. But in fact, this distinction does not exist in Islam per se, nor in Islamic daily life. These famous six principles, although independent from Islam, are Islamic in content. Islam is a secularist religion, a religion without ecclesiastical authority, which is the meaning of secularism in the West. Moreover, Islam is a religion without dogma (mystery) and without rituals. Islam is identical to reason and good deed. Monotheism is nothing else except a Metaphysical, Ontological and Axiological principle,

which manifests in the Good Deed. Concepts of equity and social justice are Islamic concepts, not only as content but also as words. Justice is a Divine name, which denotes the law of merit and ethics of work. All that has been said in “Islam and Socialism" regarding the theory of Istikhlaf is true, regardless of the apologetic and defensive tone of this State professional literature. Islamic culture being now under the influence of the West, these two key-words, secular and religious seem to be operative. However, in Islamic classical culture, all the so-called secular terms like equity freedom, Reason, Nature, Community were highly religious terms. After the decline of the Muslim World, such terms disappeared and traditional terms reappeared. Any reappearance of the so-called secular concepts can not be labeled as anti-religious, secular or under Western influence. In fact, these concepts are neither secular nor Western but purely Islamic. Islam, as method, is the emergence of ideas from within social, economic and political situations. Islam is not a priori to social facts expressed in a literal way, but a posteriori to such facts, expressed through content, namely a new social order. This is the (Tanzil). Moreover, Islamic revelation adapted itself several times, according to new circumstances and human capacities and even objections. This is the (Naskh). Therefore, secular concepts of equity and social justice are indeed religious in the Islamic sense, as content not as form. The targets are the same. The difference may lie in scope, extension and means of application.

2 - Religion as Defensive Mechanism

What has been described as religious justification or the use of religion has nothing to do with religion as such, if such a thing

exists. Religion was used to defend political regimes and to attack opposite political regimes. It was used to defend social change and to defend social stability. Religion was used as a political and social weapon because the masses were religious. If Nasser and the Arab Masses were not religious, religion would not have been involved. The two opposite regimes Nasser's and Saoud's, or Nasser's and Sadat's, were hypocritical because no regime believed in religion per se, but used it only to defend its own interests. Religion was used to defend feudalist and capialist Dictatorships under Saoud and Sadat, or socialist dictatorship under Nasser. Power elites in the Arab World were defending their political powers first, regardless of the regimes they represented. Arab peoples in all regimes were victims. Religion was at steak in a power struggle for hegemony. As in any battle, sharp and heavy weapons were used. Because in underdeveloped societies, religion plays the role of political ideology, religion was used as a political ideology under Saoud, Faisal and Sadat, and to justify another political ideology under Nasser. It is a conflict of interpretation between conservative and progressive political regimes, and even between two powers in the name of religious traditionalism under Saoud, Faisal and the name of secular progressivism under Nasser. Religion, like art, philosophy and all super-structure, reflects the socio-political situations in a dialectical way, through values, concepts, views of the world. Religion in underdeveloped societies serves as motivation for social change in a progressive and socialist regime, or as a pillar of social stability in a conservative feudalist regime. More precisely, the elite ruling class gets behind these two political

opposite trends, using them as shields. The final word in opposite political regimes is not the true interpretation of religion. This absolute model does not exist, since religion is anchored in society, since religion is for us. The final word is for power, at least for a moment, till masses become aware of their interests. Now and then, the progressive version of Islam appears. There is no theoretical truth in religion but there is a practical use of religion in a social situation. Once used by political power, religion becomes a defensive mechanism against outside danger (like under Nasser, Saoud and Faisal) or inside danger (like under Sadat). If this danger comes from Marxism, Islam becomes anti-Marxist. If it comes from feudalism, Islam becomes anti-feudalist. Nasser used religion in the same time against Kassem of Iraq in 1959, to attack Marxism as anti-Islamic, and against Suoud and Faisal, to attack feudalism in the name of Islam.

Religion as a defensive mechanism appeared in all battles the Egyptian power elite entered. Nasser from 1952-54 looked for a popular support to his coup d'etat. He went to the Ulamas of Al-Azhar and showed them how in all Egyptian history Ulamas and Officers worked together hand in hand against occupation. Islam appeared as religion of liberation and revolution. Two years later, during the power struggle between Nasser and the Muslim Brethren in 1954-56, Islam appeared as a religion of tolerance, not of violence. After the Nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the Egyptianization of foreign companies in 1957, religon disappeared because of the popular support for these two national decisions. No Islamic justification was issued for Nationalization and Egyptianization. But again religion played a role during Arab

Unity and the crisis of national unity in 1958-60. Religion appeared as a unifying factor between Muslims and Christians during the Crusades, facing the danger of Arab reaction and Imperialist plots against the new United Arab Republic. The major battle where religion was used as a defensive mechanism was that of Islam and Socialism in 1961-64.

Islam appeared as a socialist religion and the prophet as the first founder of a Socialist State. Facing a new danger from the Islamic Pact in 1965, religion was used to discredit the Imperialist alliance with Arab reaction, disguised in the name of Islam. However, religion was not used against Israel, not only because the Zionist State is a political problem, but because religion was an internal game inside Egypt, like that of Nasser and the Muslim Brethren, or an inter-Arab game, like that of Nasser and Saoud, for a power struggle addressing ignorant masses. The Arab-Israeli conflict was not of that order.

3. Religion and Class-Struggle

It is strange to observe that religion was used by Nasser in his power struggle against Arab reactionary regimes and never inside Egypt (the case of Muslim Brethren was also a power struggle, not a social one) to have mass support to his socialism against early political parties and feudalist opposition. Nasser did not feel the necessity of using such a weapon because there was no real danger from the feudalist class, the society of half percent. This class was hit by the first land reform laws. The indivdual and sporadic feudalist opposition was presented to Peoples tribunal. Moreover, there was no class struggle in Egypt,

in the strict sense of the term. More precisely, there was no class consciousness. The power elite had the power in front of the powerless masses. Every figure from the power elite was a center of power having his own (Shilla). The Masses were not organized in institutions defending their interests, any more than the power elite permitted. The middle class supported the new power elite, and the State apparatus worked for it. Public officials, Administrators, Technocrats, Bureaucrats, Officers, Academicians and above all religious leaders worked for the power elite, by virtue of the fact that they were a employees of the state. Nobody or institution represented Mass interests opposing middle and upper class interests. Even Marxist opposition under Nasser was an ideological opposition from individuals belonging to the middle class, rather than real opposition of mass interests. Nobody tried to crystallize the class consciousness of the poor classes and defend their interests. Class struggle was neutralized under Nasser, not because Egyptian society was that of love and brotherhood, nor because the Arab Socialist Union represented people's working forces alliance, nor because there was 50% workers and peasants in people's Assembly, but because there was no class consciousness for poor classes and a permanent one, not that which appeared once and a while in student's and worker's demonstrations. The last one was the popular uprising in January 1977. Efficient religious leaders belonged to the middle class and were, as every one else, working for the power elite. They gave the Islamic version the power elite wanted, namely, obedience to the authority, progressive or conservative, socialist or feudalist.

They propagated dogmatic and ritualistic Islam, even within this huge professional literature on Islam and socialism. Religious interpretation was a monopoly of religious authority, as political discourse was a monopoly of political authority. No religious leader has yet appeared to crystallize mass consciousness and to defend their interests. Religious leaders at the top of religious institutions or at the bottom in the Mosques, all are employers executing written orders of the power elite. The first were afraid to lose money, job and power; the second were frightened by firing, exile and persecution. The lack of mass credibility regarding political and religious discourse is one and the same. Both were mystifications of social realities. The religious left, political Islam or young religious leaders adopting social teaching of Islam had not yet begun.

4 - Islam and Revolution

Answering the primary question of the religious factor and income distribution, not only as a historical survey of the Egyptian revolution from 1952-79 in the past or as an analytical description of religious justification of political regimes in the present, but in a prospective vision in the future, the subject of Islam and revolution emerges. Till now, religion was used only as a “Prostitute” by all power elites. Religious prostitution is different from religious revolution. Every religion, from the early prophets till the last one, was a social reform. It expressed new social forces and effectuated a new social change. Religion, in modern terms, was a social, political and economic revolution. Sometimes revolution was externalized and sometimes

internalized, sometimes it is in society and sometimes in the individual. Islam appeared to confirm this religious function. Religion is the ideology of the poor and oppressed classes against the oppressing and rich classes. Religion is a social and political liberation of the oppressed majority against the oppressing minority.

Religion is not dogma nor rituals, but social revolution. Religion is liberation against domination, freedom against despotism, democracy against dictatorship, socialism against capitalism, equity against inequity and social justice against all forms of social injustices. Religion is understood within the context of this century, the century of decolonization. Revolutions in the third World, in Affica, Asia and Latin America, were either nationalist or Marxist. Nationalist revolutions ended after independence, with middle class regimes collaborating with new imperialist economic powers. Liberation was from outside domination, but not from internal exploitation and political dictatorship. Marxist revolutions are still struggling for popular support and still fear any popular uprising against the revolutionary vanguard. The Masses do not understand either secular nationalism or Marxist dialectical materialism. They are still, in their majority, illiterate. The Masses in the three continents are still religious. However, religion is still used by ruling classes co-operating with Western Imperialism against mass interests. Here comes Camillo Torres and the revolutionary priests in Latin America to declare revolution as a Christian Imperative. Here also comes the religious left in Western Churches, to contribute in social movements in capitalistic

societies. In America, the theology of revolution took over classical theology of Essence and Attributes. The Social Teaching of Christianity became a new doctrinal code. Roman Catholicism in Latin America, Protestantism during the peasantry war led by Thomas Munzer in 16th century Germany, primitive Christianity described by Engels and Kautsky, Buddhism in Vietnam during the independence war, Confucius in China in the beginning of the Chinese revolution and later on after the cultural revolution, the Cargo Cult and primitive religions in Africa, the Black Nation in America, Islam in Algeria during independence, Mahdism in Sudan, Senusiya in Lybia and finally the triumphant Islamic revolution in Iran in the name of Islam and revolution. All these examples are only the beginning of a new revolution in the Muslim World. Islam finally reappeared in the Muslim World as the only viable ideology after the failure of secular nationalism and Western Marxism. It is up to Egypt to follow the path or to stay in its eternal stagnation and people's indifference (*).

(*) The marginal hot are lost.

HUMAN SUBSERVIENCE OF NATURE

An Islamic Model (*).

1 - Introduction

Ever since the problem of pollution began to arise, ecologists as well as environmentalists tried to protect nature. Their efforts went largely in vain. Laws, decrees, restrictions, guidance's, punishments were unable to preserve the purity of nature against the impurity of man and society. Pollution became an ever increasing problem. The waters of a whole river like the Rhine were declared undrinkable. Fish die out in polluted lakes. The air in major industrial cities becomes un-breathable. Pollution is known now as one of the major causes of cancer in industrial societies. New avenues have to be found to help ecologists and environmentalists to protect nature from human mischief.

The cultural approach is one of these new avenues. Human beings are motivated by their global goals, which cultures give. They are oriented by their world-views Weltanschauung, which determine their perception as well as their behavior. They are born in a culture. They live and die in the same culture. Any attempt of acculturation would fail, because cultures are deeply rooted in the mind and the soul of man. Man is a cultural animal.

(*) This paper was written in 1980 for the Swedish Council for planning and coordination of Research and its sub-division the Committee for Future Oriented Research, as a part of the project "Natural Resources in a Cultural Perspective". It has been translated into Swedish and published in "Himmel, Manniska, Jord", edited by A.Hjort, Uno Svedin, Kontenta, Stockholm, 1985.

Religion is the general source of culture. It is at its birth, its development and its accomplishment. Religion is the main stream in every national culture. The so-called secularist or atheist cultures are also shaped by religion, if not by action, at least by reaction.

Looking at nature from a religious and a cultural perspective would allow us to tackle the problem of natural resources at its very core, namely from the point of view of human consciousness. Human attitudes and perceptions determine the way to deal with nature. The living object, such as nature or world, does not exist or change except in the perception of the subject.

The method chosen for this study is a combined method of content analysis and phenomenological description. Content analysis alone would fall into statistical figures about the repetitions of words, as in "Quantitative Semantics," and analysis of units on a grammatical base. The question of meaning, of relevance, of living experiences behind language would then be completed by a phenomenological description. The analysis of forms of language would never lead to the meaning and the living experiences. Content analysis with all its techniques would offer very limited results. Phenomenological description through the “intuition of essences" and the minimum technique would lead to maximum results. The intuition of meaning and the perception of reality would be the final goal of content analysis, concentrated on the forms of speech.

The data analyzed will be essentially the Qur'an, the source of Islam. All Qur'anic verses relative to Nature will be analyzed

according to a modified and simplified technique of content analysis. The results are greatly clarified by the phenomenology-cal description of human experiences, revealing meanings and significances deduced from grammar. The convergence between these two methods, the descendent and the ascendant, would prove the identity between meaning and reality through human cognition and experience. The Hadith, the second source of Islam, was not used because of the probability of in-authenticity, of immensity and of proliferation. A concise, global and direct vision would come easily from the Qur'an, rather than from the diversity of the Hadith.

Islamic culture in its manifestation mainly in theology, philosophy, mysticism and jurisprudence, will not be used as a helpful data to confirm the Qur'anic views. Although it deals with Nature in its classical cultural context, namely Greek philosophy and its concept of Phusis, a transposition of ancient physics has to be done first to reestablish its connections with Qur'anic Weltanschauung. Form and matter, cause and effect, number and movement, time and space, substance and accidents, elements and compositions, quantities and qualities, potentiality and actuality, emptiness and plenty, are all concepts which may reveal living experiences behind classical technical vocabulary and shared by the moderns. Qur'anic content analysis will be the major source of information.

Western references, theories and results will be kept in mind as a new cultural modern context ,without being directly used or even referred to as a source of information. They are not

used as “systems of reference" for several reasons. They are well known to Western readers and will not offer them anything new. Also they may restrict the scope of research and put limits on free inquiry, given their predetermined language and preconceived theories. These theories themselves were drawn from a generalization of Western data and may not be relevant to other materials coming from non-Western cultures. A fresh analysis, expressed through common language, may help Western readers in making a break-through in their perceptions and cultural framework.

II - Creation and Signs of Nature

There is no word in the Qur'an which corresponds the word Natura or Phusis in classical languages, or to nature in modern ones. The word (Tabi'a), which corresponds in modern Arabic language to the word nature, does not exist in the Qur'an. However, the verb (Taba’a) is mentioned 10 times to describe the divine action of applying a stamp or seal upon the hearts of the infidels [1], thereby posing the problem of free will and predestination. The word Nature comes from the Latin Nacor, which means birth, while the verb Taba'a means character, temper or behavior. The same meaning is expressed by two other nouns. Fitra means natural disposition, and Sibgha means colour or trade-mark. Both nouns refer to permanent and unchangeable

(1) The uses are 4 times in the past tense third person singular Taba'a, like "God hath set the seal on their hearts" (4:155); one time in the present tense first person plural Natba’a; 3 times in present tense third person singular, Natba'u, twice in passive voice third person singular.

creation [2]. The Qur'anic word which means nature is the verb Khalaqa, to create, and the noun Khalq, creation. The word is mentioned 253 times, indicating the act of creation as a verb, more than creation itself as a noun. Creation is an act more than a thing [3]. The verb is more used in the past than in the present tense [4]. Creation is almost done, but it is still continuing. That indicates the importance of the act of creating, in time, not only in the past, but also in the present and in the future, as the coming present. The verbs without possessive pronouns are more often used than the verbs with pronouns [5]. That also indicates that the act of creation is more emphasized than the thing or the person created. The active voice is more used than the passive voice, which means that creation refers to the Creator [6].

However, in the noun forms, the emphasis is made on creation more than on creator [7]. The same root Khalq has been used to signify invention or the Ikhtilaq, which means false creation. It means also the share of happiness or enjoyment Khalaq. The same word is used also to signify good moral or high

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(٢) "God's handiwork according to the pattern (Fitra) on which He has made mankind. No change in the work by God?" (30:30); "The baptism (Sibgha) of God, And who can baptize better than God?"(2:138). We used the Holy Qur'an, text, translation and commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Dar-al-Arabia, Beirut, Lebanon.

(٣) The word "creation" is mentioned 200 times as a verb and only 53 times as a noun.

(٤) The verb is used in the past tense 186 times and in the present 14 times.

(٥) Out of 200 times the verbs with possessive pronouns are mentioned 88 times.

(٦) The active voice appears 190 times, the passive voice 10 only.

(٧) From the 53 times, 38 refer to creation and only 12 refer to creator.

standard of behaviour Khalaq[8] .Nature is also the realm of ethics. The object of creation is the whole world [9]. Nature is correlated to God and a result of his action, hence creation is owned by God and nature is his own property [10]. Consequently nature has to be respected and protected. It cannot be destroyed or polluted. It is a field of action for man to live in, to benefit from, and to control. Man deals with the manifestation of Divinity, the work of God. His adoration of God requires his veneration of Nature. Nature is created for man, for his life and happiness. Everything in Nature has been created for his use, not misuse [11].

The whole world is created in truth [12]. Human passions, desires and inclinations are excluded. The world is an objective world, self-subsistent and durable. It is created according to measure and proportion in space [13]. It is also created according to rhythm and succession in time [14]. It has a beginning and an

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(٨) These usages appear 9 times, one for invention or lie, 6 times for share of happiness or enjoyment, and twice in the sense of good morals.

(٩) It is he who hath created for you all things that are on Earth (2:29).

(١٠) "Do they see nothing in the government of the heavens and the earth and that God hath created?" (7:185).

(١١) "Behold, in the creation of the heavens and the earth; in the alternation of night and day; in the sailing of the ships through the ocean for the profit of mankind; in the rain which God sends down from the skies and the life which He gives therewith to an earth that is dead; in the change of the winds and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth indeed no signs for a people that are wise" (2:164).

(١٢) It is He who created the heavens and the earth in true proportions" (6:75).

(١٣) "It is He, who created all things and ordered them in due proportions" (25:2); “Verily, all things have we created in proportion and measure" (54.49)

(١٤) "Your Guardian-lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days (7:54).

end. The end is not final because it is recreated in resurrection[15]. Creation occurred without fatigue or endurance[16]. It is a serious work in a serious life [17].

That is why Nature has a cognitive role, that of knowing God. Nature is the way to the knowledge of God. It leads to God. All natural phenomena are signs of God, issued from Him and leading to Him. The word Ayah as it appears in the Qur'an means at the same time verse and a natural phenomenon. The word of God is a natural sign, and the natural sign is a word of God. Both are proofs of his Existence. A sign of God, His word or His creation is an object of respect and veneration. It means also a miracle from God and an example for man. Man and Nature follow the same model [18].

Nature includes four levels of creation: Heavens and Earth, Plants, Animals and Humans. God created Heavens and Earth. He created Heavens, He created Earth and He created everything

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(١٥) "From the earth did we create you and into it shall we return you, and from it shall we bring you out once again," (20:22); "It is God who begins creation, then repeats it" (30:11); "He will give them like who created them the first time" (37:79).

(١٦) "See they not that God, who created the heavens and the earth and never wearied with their creation, is able to give life to dead?" (46:33).

(١٧) "Verily, we have created Man into toil and struggle" (90:4).

(١٨) The word Ayah is mentioned 382 times, 87 in singular and 295 in plural form, which indicates the multiplicity of signs; it is also mentioned 232 times without possessive pronouns and 150 with possessive pronouns which indicates the function of the sign, an occasion for man to think and conclude. Plural possessive nouns, like "Our signs" 92 times are mentioned more than individual possessive nouns (58 times) which indicates that signs are for society and for individuals.

in Heavens and Earth. He created All. He created day, and night, the living world for man. He created seven Heavens and in Earth clay and fire[19]. He created also life and death, living things in pairs, male and female, vegetation and plants[20]. Animals, namely cattle were also created on Earth[21]. Human Beings and even Super-Humans (Jinns) were created also in pairs, from the wombs. Man is created from a sperm-drop, from a clot of congealed blood, from lump, from bones and flesh [22]. He is created from water. He is also created from clay, from sounding clay, while the Jinns are created from fire [23]. He is created from

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(١٩) "It is he, who created the night and the day and the sun and the moon, (21:32). "He is He, who created seven firmaments and of the earth a similar number" (65:12).

(٢٠) "He Who created death and life, that He made try which of you is best indeed." (65:2); "By the creation of male and female" (92:3); That He did create in pairs, male and female" (53:45).

(٢١) "And God has created every animal from water" (24:45); "Glory to God who created in pairs all things, that the earth produces as well as their own kind and things of which they have no knowledge (36:36); "We have created cattle and men in great numbers (25:49); "See they not that it is We who have created for them cattle which are under their dominion?" (36:7 1).

(٢٢) "He has created man from a sperm-drop" (16:4); "It is He, who has created man from water" (25:54); "He has created man"(55:3); "He created man from sounding clay, like unto pottery. And He created Jinns from like fires free of smoke"(55:14-15); "He created man of a clot of congealed blood" (96:2) "And clothed the bones with flesh then We developed out of it another creature" (17:14).

(٢٣) "Thou didst create me from fire, and him from clay" (7:12); 38:76 ; "He it was who created you from clay" (6:2); "Dost thou deny Him created thee out of dust, out of a sperm-drop, then fashioned thee into a man?"(18:37); "Then We made the sperm into a clot of congealed blood; then of that clot we made a lump; then=

dust and returns back to dust. God shaped him as a man and gave him a soul. God created and gave shape to creation [24]. His creation is uniform and permanent without disturbance or Change [25]. Nature was created for the sake of man. Shade was created to protect him from the heat of the sun, as were caves in the mountains like built-in houses to protect him against the elements (meteos) [26]. Animals were also created for his benefit[27]. Man is preferred to all other creations [28]. However man himself is created for work [29]. He has to exploit, to invest and to use nature. He has to produce and to benefit from nature.

Nature contains in itself a norm. It not a mere thing, as it includes good and bad [30]. Everything has its function according

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= we made out of that lump bones "Him who created thee, fashioned thee in due proportion and gave thee just bias" (82:7).

(٢٤) "Then did God make and fashion him in due proportion" (75:36); "Who hath created and further given order and proportion." (813); "No want of proportion wilt thou see in the creation of most gracious" (67:3).

(٢٥) "(Establish) God's handiwork according to the pattern on which he has made mankind. No change in the work by God" (30:30).

(٢٦) "It is God who made out of the things He created, something to give you shade of the hills He made some for your shelter. He made your garments to protect you from heat; and coats of mail to protect you from your mutual violence." (16:81); The same meaning is expressed in 16:84.

(٢٧) "And cattle He has created for you; From them ye derive warmth. and numerous benefits and of them ye eat" (163).

(٢٨) "And conferred on them special favors, above a great part of our creation" (17:70). "We have created man in the best of mould," (95:4).

(٢٩) "Verily, we have created man into toil and struggle (90:4).

(٣٠) "I seek refuge with the Lord of all dawn. From the mischief of created things" (113:1-2).

to finality. Creation is not without aim. It is done purposefully, according to a premeditated plan. There is nothing meaningless or absurd in nature. The whole purpose of creation is to recognize the lordship of God and the worship of man [31].

III- Subjection and Subservience of Nature

Religions vary in their relation to Nature between world negation and world-affirmation. If Buddhism and Christianity fall into the first category, primitive religions, Judaism and Islam, into the second. Western culture as a reaction to the Christian option, switched from the first to the second. Negation is converted to affirmation by reaction and even by repulsion.

Derived from this affirmative attitude towards the world, Islam views Nature as subjected to Man and Man as subservient to nature. This view is explicitly expressed in the Qur'an by the Sakhar, which means to subject or to be subservient to. God created Nature for man and subjected it to him [32].

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(٣١) "Our Lord, not for naught hast thou created all this" (3:191) "Not for sport did we create the heavens and the earth and all that is between" (21:16). "Not without purpose did we creat Heaven and Earth and all between (38:27). 'Did you then think that we had created you in jest and that ye would not be brought back to us" (23:115); "I have only created Jinns and men, that they may serve me." (51:56).

(٣٢) The word is mentioned in the Qur'an 26 times in different forms, 16 times, that means more than the half of the usages are in the third person singular past tense. Only 3 times God was mentioned as a relative pronoun "Who" (Allathi) an emphatic relative pronoun "God who..." (Allahu Allathi) "He who (Wahowa Allathi) 2 times God is mentioned as subject "God subjected" (Allahu Sakhar), one time under question and answer form; 3 times God speaks in the first person plural "We subjected... (Sakarra')," one time in the first person plural with possessive pronouns=

God subjected to man all natural phenomena[33]. God subjected to him the sun and the moon for heat and light. Man has to find ways to protect himself against burning and freezing. Man has to subdue darkness by discovering light. That is Why both sun and moon are connected to day and night and stars [34]. Using the "inner-space" for an arms race would be a misuse of Nature. God also subjected to man all that exists in heavens and earth, like mountains, rivers, seas, animals, wind, clouds and birds. Mines are in the mountains. Rivers come from waterfalls.

= "We subjectedd it .." (Sakharnaha); 2 times in the third person singular with possessive "He subjected it." (Sakharaha); 4 times in the passive voice, one singular masculine "subjected to" (Musakhar) and 3 times plural feminine (Musakharat).

(٣٣) The sun and the moon are mentioned 8 times one time with day and night and one time with stars, Heavens and earth 3 times, mountains 2, rivers 2, ocean 2, wind 2, cloud 1, birde 2.

(٣٤) "He has subjected the sun and the moon (13:2) "He has made subject to you the night and the day, the sun and the moon and the stars are in subjection by His command" (16:12); "And He hath made subject to you the sun and the moon, pursuing their courses: and the night and the day hath he made subject to you (14:33); "Seets thou not that God has made subject to you all that is on earth" (22:65); "And he has subjected to you, as from Him, all that is, in heavens and on earth" (45:13); "And all rivers He made subject to you" (14:13); "He who has made the sea subject, that ye may eat there of flesh that is fresh and tender and that ye may extract therefrom ornaments to wear (16:14); "It is He who hath made the ships subject to you, that they may sail through the sea by His command (14:32); "We made animals subject to you. It is not their meat nor their blood that reaches God, it is your piety that reaches Him, He has thus made subject to you…" (22:367); "Glory to Him who has subjected these (animals) to our (use), for we could never have accomplished this (by ourselves)" (43:13); "Then we subjected the wind to his power, to flow gently to his order whithersoever he willed" (38:36).

Tender fish comes from seas. Vessels move in oceans. Energy comes from the wind. Clouds are carried by the wind and give shadows and water[35]. Natural phenomena are processed as a human environment.

IV- Heavens: Sky, Sun, Moon, Stars, Winds, Clouds, Birds

The word Heavens is mentioned in the Qur'an 190 times, always with the definite article and without possessive nouns. This denotes an objective world. It is always connected to Earth, except 12 times where it is mentioned along with the definite article, except 4 times. This signifies that Earth is an integral part of Heaven. It has the same holiness. They were one, united in the beginning and then split up in two. All the usages refer to God. God owns and man inherits the Heavens [36]. He created the Heavens and He is the Lord [37]. His throne is in Heaven [38]. He knows everything and is capable of doing everything [39].

(٣٥) "Do not the unbelievers see that the Heavens and the Earth were joined together before we clove them asunder?" (213).

(٣٦)"Knowest thou not that to God belongeth the domination of the Heavens and Earth" (2:107); 'To Him belongs all that is in the Heavens and on Earth" (2:116) "To God belongs the heritage of the Heavens and the Earth" (3:180);

(٣٧) "Verily, your Lord is God who created Heavens and Earth" (10:3)"Say, who is the Lord and sustainer of the Heavens and the Earth? Say God" (13:16); "Our Lord is the Lord of Heavens and of the Earth" (18:14).

(٣٨) "His throne doth extend over the Heavens and the Earth (2:255).

(٣٩) "Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of Heavens and Earth and I know what you reveal and what you conceal (2:33); "He knows what is in the Heavens and what is on Earth" (3:29); "Nor is God to be frustrated by anything. Whatever in the heavens or on Earth, For He is all knowing. All powerful (35:44).

Heavens are also the measure of Paradise, spacious and eternal(40). Everything in Heaven worships the Lord and thanks Him (41). Simultaneously everything in Heaven is subject to man for his own benefit and good use (42). That is why man is responsible for Heaven, not Heaven for man (43).

If Heaven is related mostly to God, sky is related mostly to man. Sky is created, ordained and held by God. It is God's dwelling. It is held, steadfast and high (44). The main function of the sky is that it is a source of living. Waters come from the sky and fall from the clouds (45). Waters have to be pure not polluted, for good vegetation. Moral sustenance comes also from the sky, such as revelation (46). Food comes also from the sky, namely the birds. Life comes from the sky, such as light comes from the sky(47). However, the sky can also be a source of anger and

(٤٠) "And for a garden whose width is that of the Heavens and of the Earth" (3:133); "They will dwell therein for all the time that the Heavens and the Earth endure" (11:107).

(٤١) 'Whatever is in the Heavens and on Earth, let it declare the praises and glory of God (57:1).

(٤٢) "And He has subjected to you, as from Him, all that in the heavens and on Earth" (45:13).

(٤٣) "We did indeed offer the trust to the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains, but they refused to undertake it being afraid thereof. But man undertook it." (33:72).

(٤٤) 'Who has made the Earth your couch and the Heavens your canopy" (2:22).

(٤٥) "And sent down rain from the Heavens and brought forth therewith fruits for your sustenance" (122); "For whom we poured out rain from the skies in abundance" (6:6)

(٤٦) "O God, our Lord: send us from Heaven a table set" (5:117).

(٤٧) "To those who reject our signs and treat them with annoyance, no opening will there be of the gates of heavens" (7:40); "The people of the towns had believed and feared God. We should indeed have opened out to them blessing from=

revenge, in the form of tempests, tornados, stones, darkness, thunder, lightning and heavy snow [48]. The sky can then be destructive. Both functions of the sky as constructive as well as destructive depend on man's attitude towards Nature being positive or negative, with good deeds or with bad deeds. Sky for man is an orientation and a symbol of light, height and purity [49].

The sun is mentioned in the Qur'an 33 times out of which 32 are with their definite article and without any possessive pronoun, which means that natural phenomena are objective ones, not the private property of any person. The usages indiciate the omnipotence of God [50], the resurrection [51] of the natural law [52]. The major usage is its subjection to God [53], and benefits

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= Heaven and Earth (7:96); "And sendeth down sustenance for you" (40:13); "And in heavens is our sustenance" (51:22).

(٤٨) "Or is that of a rain-laden cloud from the sky; in it are zones of dark and thunder and lightning." (2:19); "So we send on the transgressors a plague from Heaven" (2:59); "Rain down on us a shower of stones from the sky" (8:32).

(٤٩) "Blessed is He who made constellations in the skies and placed therein a lamp and a moon giving light" (25:61); We have indeed decked the lower heaven with beauty and stars" (37:6).

(٥٠) "But if is God that causeth the sun to rise from the East, do you then cause it to rise from the West? (2:258).

(٥١) "When the sun is folded up" (81:1); 'And the sun and the moon are joined together" (75:9).

(٥٢) "And the sun runs its course for a period determined for Him it" (36:38); "It is not permitted to the sun to catch up to the moon, nor can the night outstrip the day. Each swims along in orbit?" (36:40)

(٥٣) "He created the sun, the moon and the stars, governed by laws under his command" (7:54); He has subjected the sun and the moon, each one runs for a term appointed" (13:2).

to man as a source of light and energy [54], or as a rhythm and a unity of time. Paradise is an ideal place to live, without burning or freezing [55].

The moon is mentioned 27 times, out of which 26 also with the definite article and without any possessive pronouns, which indicates the objectivity and universality of natural phenomena outside human usurpation. The usages are the same as those of the Sun: The omnipotence of God who created the moon, a sign of resurrection in its new metamorphose, a natural law permanent and uniform, subject to God, giving light and indicating time for man. The stars are mentioned in the Qur'an 18 times, 13 as star (Nagm), 5 as a constellatia (Kawkab). The 13 times are all definite nouns, 4 singular and 9 plural which indicates the objectivity of nature and the multiplicity of its phenomena. Out of the 5 times, 3 are indefinite nouns and 2 are definite.

The stars are so venerated that they are sworn by [56]. However, they worship God and are not worshiped themselves. They are signs for the final resurrection [57]. They are subjected

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(٥٤) "It is He who made the sun to be a shining glory and the moon to be a light, and measured out stages for her; that ye might know the number of years and the count (of time)" (10.5); "The sun and the moon follow courses computed." (55:5).

(٥٥) "And the sun and the moon for the reckoning (of time)" (6:96); 'Establish regular prayers at the sun's decline till the darkness of the night" (17:76); They will see there neither the sun's excessive heat, nor the moon's excessive cold (76:13).

(٥٦)"By the stars when it goes down" (51:1); "Furthermore I call to witness the setting of the stars" (56:75).

(٥٧)"And the stars (herbs) and the trees both bow in adoration" (55:6); Seest thou not that to God bow down in worship all things that are in Heavens and on the earth,=

to God, like the sun and moon, and function for the benefit of Man(58). The stars are shining, twinkling and are taken as metaphors of beauty (59). They are an object of meditation and can guide men in traveling. Through them, man can know time and space (60).

The wind is mentioned in the Qur'an 29 times, 19 times indefinite singular, 10 times indefinite plural, 27 times in the literal sense and twice only in the figurative sense. From the 27 usages, 13 indicate a negative sense, destruction by a strong blowing wind(61). and 14 indicate a positive sense, pushing vessels in the seas, clouds for water and seeds for the plants (62). The first is outside control, the second is under control (Solomon) (63).

= the sun, the moon, the stars, the hills, the trees, the animals and a great number among mankind?" (22:18); "Then, when the stars become dim "(77:8); 'When the stars fell, loosing their lustre" (81:2); “When the stars all scattered" (82:2).

(٥٨) "He created the sun, the moon and the stars governed by laws under His command." (7:54); "And the stars are in subjection by His command" (16:12).

(٥٩) “It is the star of piercing brightness" (86:3); “The glass as it were a brilliant star" (24:35); “We have indeed decked the lower heaven with beauty, the stars” (37:6).

(٦٠) "And marks and sign-posts and by the stars guide themselves" (16:16); “It is He who maketh the stars for you that ye may guide with their help, through the dark spaces of land and sea" (6:97).

(٦١) “A wind which brings a whipping frost. It strikes and destroys the hands of men who have wronged their own souls" (3:117); “Then, comes a stormy wind and the waves come to them from all sides" (10:22); "And send against you a heavy gale to drown you because of your ingratitude" (17:69); “We send against them a devasting wind" (51.41) "But we sent against them Hurricanes and forces that saw not" (33:9).

(٦٢) “It is He who sendeth the winds like heralds of glad tidings, going before his mercy" (7:57); "Then we subjected the wind to his power, to flow gently to =

Clouds are mentioned in the Qur'an 9 times as a symbol of cumulative quantity on the one hand and of qualitative movement on the other. Heavy clouds carry a lot of water, promising a lot of rain [(64)], which brings life and fertility. They are carried by the wind and are in constant movement. [(65)]. But they are also subjected to man's benefit. Lightning and thunder come from within the clouds [(66)], by opposition to rain to complete the two aspects of Nature: constructive and destructive, depending on human action [(67)].

Birds are mentioned in the Qur'an 20 times, 16 definite and 4 only indefinite which indicates the same fact, the objectivity of Nature away from human passions. Birds show the power of God and his creation, Christ shaped birds from mud and breathed in them and they became alive by the power of God[(68)]. They are controlled by David and Solomon because they are a part of their

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= his order, whithersoever he willed (38:36); “It is God who sends the winds and the rain clouds” (30:48); "And we send the fecundating winds" (15:22); “They sail with them with a favourable wind"(10:22).

(٦٣) “It was our power that the violent wind flow for Solomon" (21:81): “To Solomon we made the wind” (34:12).

(٦٤) “It is He who doth raise up the clouds, heavy with rain;" (15: 12); "Seest thou not that God makes the clouds move gently, then joins them together, then makes them into a heap? (24:43)

(٦٥) “All the clouds pass away” (27:88).

(٦٦) “In the change of the winds and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth" (2:164).

(٦٧) “It is He who does show you the lightning by way of both fear and hope, (13:112).

(٦٨) “Take four birds, tame them to turn to thee. Put a portion of them on over the hill and call to them. They will come to thee with a speed” (2:260).

empire (69). They are subjected to man for his benefit as he eats their tender meat (70). But they can be wild and ferocious (71). Birds are like human communities, praising God and will return back to him (72). Man can learn from birds. Solomon learned from the hoopoe and Cain learned from the raven how to bury Abel (73).

V - Earth; Land, Mountain, Hill, Stone, Dust, Soil, Clay, Fire, Light, Smoke, Iron, Gold, Silver

The term "Land" (Ard) is repeated in the Qur'an 462 times, 454 times as substantive and 8 times only as connected with possessive pronouns, which indicates that land is not an object of possession. In the 8 times, the only occurrence with a first person singular pronoun "My Land" is relative to God. God is the only owner of the land. This meaning is confirmed by the other uses of the term as substatnive. God is also the only heir of the land. His inheritance is a natural consequence of his possession. As land is created in time, and so it begins and ends, it is obedient to God and worships Him (74).

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(٦٩) "It was our power that made the hills and the birds celebrate our praises, (21:79); "We have been taught the speech of birds" (22:16).

(٧٠) "And the flesh of fowls any that they may desire" (56:21).

(٧١) "I see myself carrying bread on my head and birds are eating thereof, (12:41); "If anyone assigns partners to God, He is as if he had fallen from heaven and been snatched up by birds" (22:3 1); "And he send against them flights of birds" (105:3).

(٧٢) "There is not an animal on the earth, nor a being that flies on its wings, but Communities like you." (6:38).

(٧٣) "Why is it I see not the hoopoe" (27:20); 'Then God sent a raven who scratched the ground to show him how to hide the shame of his brother" (5:31).

(٧٤) "Knowest thou that to God belongeth the domination of the heavens and earth" (2:17) "To Him belong all that is in Heavens and Earth" (2:107); "It is He who=

Land appears as the substance of life: Plants, animals, birds and humans. The green land is the creation of God for the welfare of mankind. The green color is the image of fertility of all that is positive, good and instructive in human life. Green land is beautiful, and the beauty is the manifestation of God. The green land occurs when water falls on Earth. Life is this passage from dry to wet. Life is a process like that of water from up to down when rain falls, and from down to up when plants grow. From water and earth plants emerge. This mixture is done according to measure, the quantity of water increasing or decreasing. Sandy or rocky land does not produce plants. They are sterile. Water itself comes from above, from clouds and rain, or from below, through underground wells and sources [(75)].

On the green land there is the ground, the living land, the moving land, stepping and knocking the Earth. There are animals of many kinds, as conscious as humans and sometimes more so. There is also the flying land, land of birds from which man can also learn. Birds and animals show the two realms of heavens and

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= will inherit the Earth and all beings thereon" (19:40); "For to God belongs the heritage of the heavens and the Earth" (3:80).

(٧٥) "Seest thou that God sends down rain from the sky, and both with the Earth becomes clothed with green?" (22:63); "In the rain which God sends down from the skies, and the life which he gives therewith to an Earth that is dead?" (2:164). "And thou seest the Earth barren and lifeless, but when we pour down rain on it, it is stirred to life it sells." (22:5); "And who sends you down rain from the sky? Yes, with it we cause to grow, well planted orchards full of beauty and delight" (27:60),"And we send down water from the sky according to measure and we cause it to soak the soil" (23: 118); "And we caused the Earth to gush forth with springs" (54:12) "And by the Earth which opens out" (86:12).

earth. Lastly earth is multicolor in one global and harmonious picture, an image of human diversity and unity in God [(76)].

Land's production is indeed an image of human creativity. Both are conditioned by the union of contraries: Life and death, beginning and end, lands and seas, mountains and rivers, soil and water, dry and wet [(77)]. Land's production is for humans to eat and to enjoy. Man is the King and master of the universe. Everything has been created for him, suitable for his life. But man has no right to monopolize nourishment and prevent others from eating and enjoying. Land's production is the right of everybody, including animals [(78)].

The mountains are mentioned in the Qur'an 39 times, 6 singular and 33 plural and all indefinite, which indicates the multiplicity and the infinity of mountains. That is why they are sometimes called standing mountains (Rawasi) (9 times) [(79)]. However, they cannot resist the end of time. They run, collapse,

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(٧٦) “There is not an animal on the Earth, nor a being that flies on its wings but communities like You" (638).

(٧٧) “It is He who brings out the living from the dead and brings out the dead from the living" (30:19).

(٧٨) “O ye people! Eat of what is on Earth lawful and good” (2:168); "And in the Earth are tracts neighboring and gardens of wine, fields sown with corn and palm trees, growing out of single roots or otherwise watered with the same water, yet some of them we make more excellent than others to eat" (114); “O ye who believe! Give of the good things which ye have earned and of the fruits of the Earth, which we have produced for you" (2:268); 'This she-camel of God is a sign unto you. So leaves her to graze in God's Earth and let her come to no harm" (7:73).

(٧٩) “And set there on mountains standing firm” (113).

explode, shake and are changed into powder [80]. They are sensitive to ideas, obedient to truth, worshiping God. They are bigger than man in quantity but man is bigger than them in quality, because man has freedom and responsibility [81]. They are subjected by God for the benefit of man [82]. Man lives in mountains, protects himself in their shade, and obtains water from their summits [83]. A hill which is mentioned (twice) with water and vegetation is a symbol of fertility and peace of the soul[84]. On the contrary the stones are used as a symbol of hardship, punishment and severity (10 times indefinite plural) and as an opposite symbol of man's power to transform the hard stone to soft water (Moses stick)(twice definite singular) [85].

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(٨٠) "One day we shall remove the mountains" (18:47).

(٨١) "When His Lord manifested His glory on the mount He made it as dust" (7:143); "Hold we sent down this Qur'an on a mountain, verily thou wouldst have seen it humble itself and cleave a asunder for fear of God." (59:21); "Nor walk on earth with insolence, for thou cannot send the earth asunder nor reach the mountains in height" (17:37); "We did indeed offer the trust to the heavens and the earth and mountains, but they refused to undertake it, being afraid thereof. But man undertook it" (33:72).

(٨٢) "It was our power that made the hills and the birds celebrate our praises with David" (21:79).

(٨٣) "And carve out homes in the mountains (7:74); "Of the hills he made some for your shelter" (16:81); "And the mountains hath He firmly fixed, for the use and convenience to you and your cattle" (79:32-33).

(٨٤) "And the likeness of those who spend their substance seeking to please God and to strengthen their souls, is as a garden, high and fertile, heavy rain falls in it but makes it yield a double increase of harvest.." (2:265); 'We gave them both shelter on high ground, affording rest and security and furnished with springs" (23:50)

(٨٥) "Rain down on us a shower of stones from the sky" (8:32). "Striking them with stones of baked clay " (05.4); "Your hearts hardened. They became like a rock,=

Dust is mentioned 18 times, always indefinite singular. Dust is the matter of creation, in the beginning and at the end [86]. But it is a symbol of fragility and lack of consistency by opposition to soil, and similar to rock when rain falls [87]. A miserable man is described wearing dusty garment [88]. A sad news or a wrong doing are wished to be buried in dust. Soil is a symbol of the hidden ground of treasures and powers of life [89]. Clay is mentioned 12 times, 11 times definite and only one time indefinite, which indicates the absolute knowledge of the matter. It is the matter from which man is created, then given life. It is burned and serves as bricks for construction. But it can serve also for destruction, when known as hard stones [90]. Fire is mentioned 145 times,126 definite and 19 indefinite. Fire is known as power and energy. It is not connected to any possessive pronouns, energy being for the use of everybody. 123 times refer to fire in Hell and 22 to fire in this world, in a

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= and even work in hardness. From among rocks there were some from which rivers gush forth" (2:24); "Strike the rock with thy staff, then gushed forth therefrom live springs" (2:60)(66.6).

(٨٦) “He created him from dust (3:59); “When we are dust shall we indeed be in a creation renewed?” (13:5).

(٨٧) “They are parabole like a hard barren rock, on which is a little soil; on I it falls heavy rain which leaves it a bare stone.” (2:264).

(٨٨) “Or to the indigent in the dust" (90:16);” Because of the bad news he has had! shall he retain it in contempt or bury it in the dust? (16:59); "And the unbeliever will say "Woe unto me, I Would that I were dust!" (78:40).

(٨٩) “To Him belongs… and all beneath the soil " (20:6).

(٩٠) “It is He who created you from clay…” (6:2); "0 human, light me a kiln bricks out of clay (28:38); “To bring on them stones of clay" (51:33).

negative sense of burning or in a positive sense of heating [91]. Light is mentioned 49 times, 40 definite and only 9 indefinite, 39 without any possessive pronouns, which indicates the reality of light outside human possession. It is used often (44 times) as an image and only 5 times in a literal sense. Fire is connected to the sun and light to the moon [92].

Energy in Earth produces smoke (mentioned twice) even in the sky [93]. Iron (mentioned 6 times, only once in a figurative sense meaning powerful) is a symbol of power and utility for mankind [94], as was the cane for David and Alexander the Great. Gold (mentioned 8 times) is used in two ways, a negative one which means joys of life, and a positive one which means ornaments as reward in Paradise [95]. Silver (mentioned 6 times),

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(٩١) That it should be caught in a whirl wind with fire therein and be burnt up," (2:766); "A sacrifice consumed by fire" (3:183); "From that which they beat in the fire to make ornaments or utensils therewith there is a scum likewise ..." (13:17)

(٩٢) "It is He who made the sun to be a shining glory and the moon to light" (10:5).

(٩٣) "Moreover He comprehended in His design the sky and it had been smoke" (41:11)(44:10)

(٩٤) "Bring me blocks of moon" (18:96); "And we made the iron soft for him" (34:10); "And we send down iron in which is (material for mighty) war as well as many benefits for mankind" (57:25).

(٩٥) "Fair in the eyes of men is the love of things they covet; Women, sons, heaped up hoards of gold and silver...such are the possessions of this worldly life; but in nearness to God is the best of the goals" (114); "And there are those who bury gold and silver and spend it not in the way of God; announce unto them a most gracious penalty. On the day when heat will be produced out of that (Wealth) in the fire of Hell, and with it will be branded their foreheads, their flanks and their backs. This is the (treasure) which ye buried for yourselves. Taste ye then, the (treasure) ye buried" (934-35). "And to those who reject forth and die rejecting,=

used in the same two manners, a negative sense in this world and a positive sense in the other world [96]. Therefore, useful minerals in this world are to be looked for, while luxurious ones are to be left. They have no use in practical life for this world. Running after gold as a value per se is of no use.

VI- Waters: Rivers, Springs, Wells, Seas

Water is mentioned in the Qur'an 63 times, of which 59 times in the indefinite singular mode without any possessive pronouns, which underscores the fact that water is common to all creatures. The main use (26 times) is waters coming from heavens to earth in order to bring life to the dead soil, allowing plants to grow on arid land [97]. Water seeps into the soil, the soil moves, shakes and becomes green. Plants, trees, and fruits push up and grow. Water is the source of life [98]. It also used for

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= never would be accepted from any such gold as the earth contains, though they would offer it for ransom" (3:91).

(٩٦) In paradise there will be bracelets, pots and glasses of gold and silver.

(٩٧) “In the rain which God sends down from the skies and the life which He, gives therewith to an earth that is dead" (2:164); "It is He who sendeth down rain from the skies. With it we produce vegetation of all kinds. From some we produce green (crops), out of which we produce grain, heaped up (at harvest), out of the date palm and its sheath clusters of dates hanging low and near ; and gardens of grapes olives and pomegranates, each similar yet different. When they begin to bear fruit feast your eyes with the fruit and the ripeness thereof” (6:99); "And sent down rain from heavens and brought forth therewith fruits for your sustenance" (2:22); "And thou seest the earth barren and lifeless, but when we pour down rain it is stirred (to life) it swells, and it puts forth every kind of beautiful growth (in pairs)"; “Seest not that God sends down rain from the sky and forth with the earth becomes clothed with green" (22:63).

(٩٨) “We made from water every living thing” (21:30).

drinking, washing and transportation [99]. It is always described as flowing, pouring, strong, abundant, emitted, moving, incorruptible, pure, soft, cold, delicious, blessed, clear, and sweet water. This is by opposition to stagnant, lost, obscure, salty, bitter, boiling, brass and despised water. Therefore, floods have to be controlled through digs and dams, channels have to be dug for irrigation. A "green revolution" has to be launched everywhere. Water makes rivers seep into the soil, thus forming wells and springs. A spring without water or a well deep and dark are symbols of destruction and of abandonment [100]. Even from stones, water can come out by the will of man [101]. Paradise is full of springs, from which believers drink. Rivers are mentioned 54 times, out of which 47 are the definite plural mode. 40 times the reference is to rivers of milk and honey, of wine and flowing waters that are in paradise. Rivers are subjected by God for the benefit of man. They are a symbol of wetness as over against the dryness of rocky land [102]. In wars, Big rivers are obstacles which the enemy can't cross, a source of

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(٩٩) “It is He who sends down rain from the sky; from it ye drink and out of which (grows) the vegetation on which ye feed your cattle (16:10); "And he caused to descend on you from heaven to clean you therewith" (8:11).

(١٠٠) “And how many wells are lying idle and neglected (22:45); “Throw him down to the bottom of the well" (12:10; 12:5).

(١٠١) “He sends down water from the skies and the channels flow, each according to its measure, But the torrent bears away the foam that mounts up to the surface." (13:17); "Seest thou not that God sends down rain from the sky and leads it through springs in the earth” (39:21).

(١٠٢) “And it is He who spread out the earth and set thereon mountains standing “firm and (flowing) rivers." (133); "And rivers he made subject to you" (14:32); For among the rocks there are some from which rivers gush forth" (2:74).

danger from underneath. The value of a kingdom is not only in its natural resources, like rivers, but depends also on the ideology and the political regime adopted by the State [(103)]. That is to say that Natural resources can be used in two ways, either for the benefit of everybody without oppression or exploitation, or for the benefit of the oppressive, ruling elite regardless of the welfare of the majority of the people.

The sea is mentioned in the Qur'an 41 times, 33 in the indefinite singular mode, seven definite dual and plural, and one time indefinite plural. The sea is a symbol of the Omniscience and Omnipotence of God. The infinity of the sea is like the infinity of Divine knowledge and power [(104)]. The sea is a field of action for mankind. Man needs guidance in sailing by the stars[(105)]. He needs vessels, ports, stars to cross the sea [(106)]. Man eats from the sea and drinks sweet water unmixed with the salty water of the sea [(107)]. The sea can be a source of danger by

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(١٠٣) "And gave streams flowing beneath," (6:6).

(١٠٤) "He knoweth whatever there is, on the earth and in the sea" (6:59).

(١٠٥) "It is He who maketh the stars for you, that ye may guide yourselves with their help, through the dark spaces of land and sea." (6:97).

(١٠٦) "In the sailing of the ships through the ocean for the profit of mankind, it is He who hath made the ships subject to you that they may sail through the sea by his command" (14:32); "Your lord is He that maketh the ship go smoothly for you through the sea" (17:66); "We have honored the sons of Adam; provided them with transport on land and sea" (17:70).

(١٠٧) "Lawful to you is the pursuit of water-game and its use for food for the benefit of yourselves and those who travel" (5:99); "It is He who has made the sea subject, that ye may eat there of flesh that is fresh and tender and that ye may extract therefrom ornament to wear" (16:14)"; "One potable and sweet and the other salt and bitter"(25:55).

drowning and it can be safe [108]. The waves are mentioned 6 times and can carry vessels or can sink them. The sea also carries natural resources like pearls, and coral mentioned twice [109]. Because of the importance of the sea the word vessel (Fulk) is mentioned in the Qur'an 23 times to suggest the meanings of safety, transportation and commerce [110].

VII – Plants: Vegetation, Valley, Pastures, Fields, Gardens, Trees, Crops, Fruits, Flowers

Plants in the Qur'an are mentioned 26 times, 17 as verb and only 9 as a noun, which indicates the active aspect of human endeavor. All the uses are literal except two in the figurative mode. Plants grow in the ground when water falls[111]. They grow in pairs, male and female, being living phenomena[112]. They carry seeds from which fat is produced for food [113]. They produce also fruits and make gardens full of trees in this world

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(١٠٨) “And remember we divided the sea for you and saved you and drowned Parraoh's people within your very sight” (150).

(١٠٩) “Out of them come pearls and coral” (55:22); “The other uses describe servants in Paradise.

(١١٠) “And we delivered Him and those with Him in the Ark” (7:64); “And has made for you ships and cattle on which ye ride” (43:12).

(١١١) “And God has produced you from the earth growing” (71:17); "With it we produce vegetation of all kinds" (6:99); "But from its mingling arises the produce of the earth which provides food for men and animals." (10:24).

(١١٢) “And it puts forth every kind of beautiful growth (in pairs)” (22:5).

(١١٣) “Also a tree springing out of Mount Sinai, which produces oil and relish for those who use it for food” (23:20).

and in the other world. A good plant is due to good human action[114]. Raising a plant is like raising a human being [115].

Vegetation is mentioned 14 times, 2 as verb, 2 as subject and 10 as object, which indicates the importance of the production. The action of planting is continuous in time and the farmer is proud of his action [116]. Various vegetations grow when water falls and serve for food and sustenance [117]. It is at first green with trunks and leaves, but then it dies and becomes yellow and turns to dust in the air [118]. The word "green" is mentioned 8 times to describe the color of the land by opposition to yellow (twice). The green color is that of cloth and furniture in Paradise [119]. The dry stubble (mentioned twice) is the image of nothingness [120].

Plants and vegetation exist in valleys, pastures, fields and gardens. The valley is mentioned 10 times, 8 in the indefinite singular mode and 2 in the plural. Only one plural is with a

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(١١٤) "From the land that is clean and good by the will of its cherisher springs up produce of its kind" (7:58).

(١١٥) "He made her grow in purity and beauty" (337).

(١١٦) "For seven years shall ye diligently sow as is your wont" (12:47). "Like a seed which sends forth its blades, then makes it strong; it then becomes thick and it stands on its own stem. The sowers with wonder and delight" (48:29).

(١١٧) "And filled with produce of all kinds" (6:141).

(١١٨) "Then He causes to grow therewith, produce of various colors. Then it withers. Thou wilt see it grow yellow. Then He makes it dry up and crumble away" (39:21)(7:70).

(١١٩) "From some we produce green" (6:99); "And forthwith, the earth becomes clothed with green?" (22:63); "Seven green cars of corn and seven withered" (12:43).

(١٢٠) "But it soon becomes dry stubble which the winds do scatter" (18:46); "The dry stubble..." (54:31).

plural possessive pronoun. Only once is the word used in a figurative sense, to underscore the inspiration of poets [121]. The valley is a sacred place where God spoke to Moses. It is a place of dwelling, even for ants. It is full of water and green for human residence [122]. Pastures (mentioned twice) are made for cattle or green food [123]. The word field is mentioned 14 times, but once only as a verb, which indicates the importance of the soil; furthermore, it is mentioned 3 times only with possessive pronouns, which indicates the common field, not the private property. 5 times the term is used in the figurative speech, twice for women as "field of man" and thrice for the last day as "field to be worked for." [124]. But the major use of the term is in this world for good human action. The field grows and stays. Through bad action the field is destroyed and dies [125]. Garden is mentioned 3 times, full of fruits and beauty [126].

Trees are mentioned in the Qur'an 26 times, all as definite nouns which means that they are well known; 20 times in singular and 6 times in the plural mode, which gives to every

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(١٢١) "Seest thou not that they wonder distracted in every valley" (26:225).

(١٢٢) "Thou art in the sacred valley (Tuwa)" (20:12); "when they come to a valley of ants" (27:18); "O our Lord! I have made some of my offspring to dwell in a valley without cultivation...and feed them with fruits" (14:37).

(١٢٣) "And He who bringeth out the pasture." (67:4); "He draweth out therefrom its moisture and its pasture" (79:31).

(١٢٤) "Your wives are as a till unto you. So approach your till when or how you will" (2:223).

(١٢٥) "When he turns his back his aim everywhere is to spread mischief through the earth and destroy crops and cattle."(2:205); "It strikes and destroys harvests" (3:117).

(١٢٦) "We cause to grow well planted orchards full of beauty and delight" (27:60).

tree its own individuality; only twice with possessive pronoun third person singular, which refers to the land as common property, not as a private one. Trees worship God. They are manifestation of his science and power [127]. They are also Paradise and Hell, as good and bad trees, and became a symbol in human life for good and bad actions [128]. The forbidden tree was a test for the human will and a foundation of norms [129]. However, trees are also natural phenomena in the world, as a part of the green land. They are places of dwelling and living nearby, for meeting and consenting [130]. Palm trees are mentioned 20 times, 12 definite and 8 indefinite, 13 singular and 7 plural, all of them are without possessive pronouns. They exist in Paradise with other fruits and vegetation and they exist also in this World [131]. A palm-tree is a symbol of weakness, emptiness and tidning (sic)(3 times), but it is also a food, a shadow and a material for agricultural industry, namely sugar[132].

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(١٢٧) "And the herbs and the trees both bow in adoration" (55:6);

(١٢٨) "A goodly world like a goodly tree whose root is firmly fixed and its branches to the heavens. It brings forth its fruits ... an evil word is that of an evil tree. It is torn up by the root from the surface of the earth; it has no stability" (14:24-25).

(١٢٩) "But approach not this tree" (2:35).

(١٣٠) "The vegetation on which ye feed your cattle" (16:10); "To build its cells in hills, on trees and in habitations" (16:68); "Also a tree springing out of Sinai, which produces oil and relish for thou who use it for food" (22:20).

(١٣١)"Therein fruit and date-palms producing Spathes (55:11); "In them will be fruits and dates and pomegranates" (55:68); "and olives and dates" (80:29); "And thou have garden of date-trees." (17:91)

(١٣٢)"Out of the date-palm and its sheathes, clusters of dates hanging low and near"(6:99); "And tall palm trees with shoots of fruits stalks, piled one over another"(50:10):"With it he produces for you corn, olives, date-palms" (16:11);=

Several crops are mentioned in the Qur'an. Seed is mentioned 12 times in the indefinite singular mode, which indicates multiplicity and individuality. God can split up a seed. He knows the substance and the place of each seed on Earth [133]. Seeds grow in the soil when water falls [134]. A seed is an image of a small good work which becomes a big one by multiplication[135]. Man eats the seed and stocks some in case of famine [136]. The green crops still have priority over the dry ones[137]. Seeds of mustard (twice) of olives (4 times) of ginger (one time) are used for eating, drinking or for making oil. [138]. Oil is used for eating and lighting [139]. Some vegetables like onions, garlic and cucumbers are mentioned with other crops like lentils [140]. Fruits (Thamar) are mentioned 24 times, 22 as noun,

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= “And shake towards thy self the trunk of the palm tree, it will let fall fresh ripe dates for thee” (19:25); “And from the fruit of the date-palm and vine ye get out wholesome drink and food” (16:67).

(١٣٣)“It is God who causeth the seed-grain and the date-stone to split and sprout" (6:95), “There is not a grain in the darkness of the earth nor anything fresh or dry but is in a Record." (6:59); "And if there be the weight of a mustard seed ye will bring it” (21:47).

(١٣٤) “And we produced there with gardens and grain for harvest" (50:9); "from some we produce green (crops) out of which we produce grain" (6:94).

(١٣٥) “The parable of those who spend their subsistence in the way of God is a grain of corn; it groweth seven ears and each ear hath a hundred grains" (2:261).

(١٣٦) “And the harvests that ye reap ye shall leave them in the ear except a little of which ye shall eat" (12:47).

(١٣٧) “And seven green ears of corn and seven withered" (12:43).

(١٣٨) “To drink there of a cup mixed with Zanjabil” (76:17).

(١٣٩) “Whose oil is wall-high luminous.” (24:35).

(١٤٠) “To produce for us what the earth groweth: its pot-herbs and cucumbers, its garlic, lentils and onions" (2:61).

and only twice as verb, which indicates its importance. All these nouns are plural, which means abundance. Only 5 times are they connected to possessive pronouns, which indicates the common use of fruits. Fruits come from the soil when water falls [(141)]. They are food and they give security and peace [(142)]. Lack of fruits and food in general threatens peace and security [(143)]. Special fruits are mentioned in the Qur'an, such as figs (one time), grapes (eleven), pomegranates (thrice), manu (4), or other fruits like fodder (Abb) and nutritious plants (Qadb) [(144)]. Another word for fruit (Fakiha) is used 14 times, referring to fruits in Paradise [(145)]. Flowers like myrrh are also mentioned (twice) as one of the (Paradise) enjoyments [(146)].

VIII. Animals: Cattle, Beasts, Inesects, Flies.

Cattle is a generic name which includes all domestic animals. The word (An’am), which means Cattle, is mentioned in the Qur`an 33 times, always in the definite plural mode, but only 4 times with a possessive pronoun. Cattle are a creation of God. God created them as well as their pasture [(147)]. God created a

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(١٤١) “And brought forth therewith fruit for your sustenance” (2:22).

(١٤٢) “Eat of their fruit in their season” (6:141)(36:35), “Have we not established for them a secure sanctuary, to which are brought as tribute fruits of all kinds” (38:57).

(١٤٣) “We shall test you with something of fear and hunger, some loss in goods or lives or the fruits...” (2:155); “We punished the people of Pharoab with years and shortness of crops.” (7:130).

(١٤٤) “And fruits and fodder” (80:31); “And grapes and nutritious plants” (80:28).

(١٤٥) “Every fruit will be there for them” (36:57).

(١٤٦) “Also can with leaves and stalk for fodder and sweet smelling plants” (55:12).

(١٤٧) “And slake the thirst of things we have created, cattle and men in great numbers” (25:49); “Eat and pasture your cattle” (20:54).

whole variety of Cattle in pairs for man (148). Man can use cattle for food, dress, furniture and transportation (149). Man can slaughter them only for these aims in the name of God, not for killing (150). It is legal to use cattle but it is completely illegal to injure them (151). Killing is unlawful in certain times and in certain places. Cattle are sometimes given as an example to man for him to think about, and to learn from. Were it not for man's capacity to learn, he would be similar to the Cattle (152). The other word used in the Qur'an is (Dabba) or four-footed animal. These are mentioned 18 times, 14 the indefinite singular mode, 4 in the definite plural mode. God created them on the land, from water, and gave them food. They in return worship God in gratitude. They are groups like humans, and they will witness in the last judgement. Humans without consciousness are like

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(١٤٨) "The sustenance He gave them from animals" (22:34); "And amongst men and crawling creatures and cattle are they of various colors" (35:28).

(١٤٩) "Your use and convenience to you and your cattle " (79:33); "And cattle He has created for you; from them ye derive warmth and numerous benefits and of their (meat) ye eat" (16:5); "of the cattle are some for burden and some for meat(6:74).

(١٥٠)"And they say that such and such cattle and crops are taboo and none should eat of them except those whom - so they say - we wish. Further, there are cattle forbidden to yoke or burden cattle, on which the name of God is not pronounced. They say "what is in the wombs of such and such cattle is especially reserved for our men and forbidden to our women. But if it is stillborn, then all have share herein" (6:138-9); "But of what God hath produced in abundance in tilth and in cattle they assigned to Him a share" (6:36).

(١٥١) "Lawful unto you are four-footed animals with the exceptions named, But animals of the chase are forbidden, while ye are in the sacred precincts or in pilgrim garb" (5:1).

(١٥٢) "They are like cattle, nay more misguided for they are headless"(2:179).

them[153]. The Qur'an uses a third term (Bahima) (3 times) which means just a living animal without consciousness[154].

From the cattle, ewes, (4 times), cows, oxen, (9 times) sheep (once) goats (once) and calves (10 times), are mentioned. The multiplicity of cattle prevents monopoly and huge farm-land owned only by one person [155]. Cattle are for human use, for food, not for worship. Camels are also mentioned to be used, not to be killed or injured. The immense proportion of the camel is used as symbol of quantity, and his yellow reddish color like a fire spark for human persuasion to good action [156]. Horses, mules and donkeys are used for transportation and in wars.

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(١٥٣) “In the beasts of all kinds that he scatters through the earth" (2:164); "And God has created every animal from water. Of them, there are some that creep on their bellies, some that walk on two legs, and some that walk on four" (24:45); “There is nothing created on earth but its sustenance dependeth on god” (11:6); “And made for You out of the skins of animals dwellings which ye find so light when ye travel and when ye stop, and out of their wool and their soft fibers and their hair rich staff and articles of convenience for a time" (16:80). “It is God who made cattle for you, that ye might use some for riding and some for food. And there are advantages in them for You, that ye may through them obtain any need in your hearts. And on them and on ships you are carried" (40:80).

(١٥٤) “The cattle which he has provided to men"(22:28).

(١٥٥) “This man is my brother, and he has nine and ninety cows and I have One. He says: Commit her to my care, and is harsh to me in speech. David said, he has undoubtedly wronged thee in demanding thy ewes to be added to his ewes. Truly, many are the partners who wrong each other.” (38:23-24).

(١٥٦) “This she-camel of God is a sign unto you, so leave her to graze in God’s earth, and let her come to no harm" (7:73), "then they hamstrung her. It is a she-camel of God and having her drink. They rejected him and they hamstrung her. So their Lord, on account of their crime, obliterated their traces. (91:14).

Horses are for riding, man rides for pleasure or in battle. Horses are symbols of speed and intelligence, donkeys are symbols of stupidity and ugliness [157]. Other animals or beasts like dogs, wolves, monkeys, swine, elephants, or reptiles like snakes and frogs, or insects like ants, lice, spiders or flies, bees, locusts, or gnats, are used in two ways, to show their use or harmfulnes to man, or to be taken as an example for human life. A dog is useful for hunting. It sleeps like a human being. A dog with a hanging tongue is like a human being running after his needs. Moses' snake swallowed all the magicians' snakes. Ants and bees have their dwellings like humans. A spider is a symbol of a fragile house. A gnat or a fly is another symbol of the weakest and smallest creatures which man cannot imitate. Lice, locusts, and elephants have all been used as instruments of punishment for the unbelievers and the wrongdoers [158].

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(١٥٧) "And horses, mules and donkeys for you to ride and use for show, (18:8); "Make assaults on them with the cavalry and the infantry .." (17:64); "Those who were charged with the Mosaic law but who subsequently failed in those, is that of a donkey who carries huge stones" (62:5) "And lower thy voice, for the best of sounds without doubt is the graying of the ass" (31:19) "And look at thy donkey " (2:259); "As if they were affrightened asses, feering from a lion"(74:50-51).

(١٥٨) "His similitude is that of a dog. If you attack him he lolls out his tongue, or if you leave him alone he still lolls out his tongue" (7:176); "Those on whom, besides God ye call, cannot create a fly if they all met together for the purpose. And if the fly should snatch away anything from them they should have no power to release it from the fly." (22:73); They will come forth, their eyes troubled grave like locusts scattered abroad" (54:7). "And thy Lord taught the bee to build its cells in bills, on trees and in habitations" (16:68); "0 ye ants get into your habitations." (27.18); "He threw it, and behold, it was a snake active in motion (20:20) "So we send on them whole sale death locusts, lice, frogs and blood" (20:33): 'He said to them: be ye=

Some animals can lawfully be eaten and some not. The unlawfulness of animals was used to educate human consciousness for obedience to norms [(159)]. The whole story of the cow ordered by God to be slaughtered, and the reluctance of the Jews to do so reveals their unwillingness to obey. The same unlawfulness continued on objective bases for reason of health. Forbidden are dead meat, blood, swine, animals slaughtered not in the name of God, killing by strangling, by violent blow, by falling, by other beasts, by sacrifice, by chance or by beating to death [(160)]. What matters is not the way of killing but the attitude of man towards the animal.

IX. Human: Body, Material Needs, Actions in the World.

Humans are described as natural phenomena. They have bodies, material needs and actions in the world. A human being is a body composed of blood, bones and flesh. More details are given, such as, legs, hands, head, chest, sides, neck, front. Parts of the head are always mentioned like eyes, nose, ears, tongue,

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= apes despised and rejected" (2:654); " Those of whom some be transformed into apes and swine"(5:61); "I fear lest the wolf should devour him" (12:13).

(١٥٩) "For those who followed the Jewish law, we forbade every thing with undivided hoof and we forbade them the fat of the ox and the sheep except what adheres to their backs, on their entrails, or is mixed up with a bone. This in recompense of their willful disobedience" (6:146).

(١٦٠) "Forbidden to you (for good) are dead meal, blood, the flesh of swine, and that of which hath been invoked the name of other than God; That which hath been killed by strangling or by a violent blow or by a head long fall or by being gored to death; that which hath been (partly) eaten by a wild animal unless ye are able to slaughter it (in due form), that which is sacrificed on stone (altars). Forbidden also is the division of meat by raffling with arrows. That is impiety." (5:5).

throat, lips and chin, as well as internal parts of the body such as liver, belly, entrails, or external ones such as, nails, skin, hair. The genetic formation of the human body inside the mother's womb or outside it is described as the creation of God. The purpose of this description is not for mere biology but to relate the body to its human needs and to the status of man in the world. Blood is mentioned 10 times to indicate unlawful food, killing or punishment. But man has a constructive role in the world, which is to create life, not to terminate it. Bones are mentioned 15 times is to indicate not only an unlawful food, or old age, but essentially to point to resurrection and coming back to life. Powder can once again, become living bones. Flesh is mentioned 12 times as an unlawful food (swine), or as a lawful one, such as birds, cattle or sea fish. Flesh is a creation of God, rejected as sacrifice. Human flesh is a symbol of moral respect for the other. The head is mentiond 20 times, referring to hair, a place to clean, a symbol of life, of struggle and of moral action, high, low or turning aside. The neck (Raqaba) is mentioned 9 times to indicate liberation from bondage or responsibility to others, or in the literal sense as throat to be cut in wars. The other word "Unuq" is mentioned 9 times, not only to indicate the bondage of man for killing in wars, but also in relation to beauty and caresses. Furthermore it functions as a symbol of individual responsibility and of avarice, when the hand is tied to the neck. Throat is mentioned twice to underscore the tension in the last judgment, when hearts will reach throats. The chest, open or closed, is mentioned 40 times in the meaning of consciousness. The side is mentioned 8 times to indicate stretching on one's side

for prayer or for torture. It is also an image or neighborhood. Hands are mentioned 120 times in a literal or in a figurative sense, to indicate power, domination, obligation, generosity. Hands are a source of action in nature.

They cannot kill, destroy or injure. The palm is mentioned twice to indicate the necessity of holding water, not pouring it between the fingers. Fingers are mentioned twice as an image of absence of consciousness, as when fingers are put in the ears in order not to hear. Legs are mentioned five times to indicate the action of running and doing, and as a symbol of beauty and grace. Feet are mentioned 8 times as an image of stability and courage. The material body is not intended per-se, but as a significance to action in the world.

Parts of the head are also stressed, to illustrate the life of consciousness. Eyes are mentioned about 60 times, either in he literal sense as an organ of vision, or in the figurative sense, to suggest spring. The eye looks at nature as a spring. The nose is mentioned twice in the context of the law of talion (sic). Ears are mentioned 18 times, either in relation to deafness or to learning, or to underscore the prohibition of animal mutilations. The tongue is mentioned 25 times to indicate languages, eloquence, witness, sincerity and the life of consciousness in the world. Lips are mentioned once with the eyes and the tongue as organs that help man perceive and utter. The throat is mentioned twice to indicate the tension of the last moment, when the heart reaches up in terror to the throat. The chin is mentioned 3 times as a symbol of bowing, either in modesty or compulsion. The

forehead is mentioned twice, bowing down as a symbol of obedience and torture. The Human body is used as human language to indicate the status of man in the world.

Of the internal parts, the liver and belly are mentioned. The liver is a symbol of activity and struggle in life. The belly is mentioned 16 times to indicate crawling animals, the belly of the big fish of Jonah, or the belly in which man is created. What is important is what goes into the belly in the sense of stomach, good legal food such as, honey and milk, or bad illegal food like boiling water, dry wood and bitter food. From the external aspects of the body, nails, skin and hair are mentioned. Nails are mentioned once referring to animals as forbidden food in the dietary laws of Judaism. Skin is mentioned 9 times, referring to animal skin for human use and human skin as a place for the nervous system, and human passions, torture or fear of God. Hair is mentioned once, referring to animal wool, soft fiber, and hair for human use. Therefore, man is made from natural elements. He is not pure soul like angels. That is why his action in nature has to satisfy his own material body. Looking for natural resources is a human necessity, given the human body as the first appearance of a human being.

Material needs are eating, drinking, dressing and housing. Eating is mentioned in the Qur'an 117 times, 30 for unlawful food and 87 for lawful food, which indicates the innocence of nature. Feeding is mentioned 42 times, indicating that food is a human right for each person. God is he who gives foods and Security [(161)].

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(١٦١) “Who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear”(106:4).

Hunger is mentioned in the Qur'an 5 times, indicating that hunger is hell and satisfaction is Paradise. Hunger, fear, lack of resources are some aspects of human sufferings [162]. Drinking is mentioned 38 times, drinking of cold and pure water in Paradise, and of impure and polluted water in hell.

Eating and drinking are two Divine imperatives for man to enjoy life and to live in a natural way without committing any mischief on earth [163]. Dressing is mentioned 23 times, mostly in the figurative sense, dressing of piety or impiety but also in a literal sense, which means dressing of ornaments or of clothes to cover one's self [164]. Housing is mentioned 42 times, some in figurative speech, which means calm of the night, tenderness of the wife, stability of the wind or quietness of the soul. Others are used in the literal sense, in which case it means living in a house, in a village, in a valley or on land. Finding a house is a right for living creatures, man and animal alike [165]. The word (Ma'wa) which means shelter, cover or refuge, is mentioned 5 times to indicate nature as a dwelling place, for instance man finds a

(١٦٢) "For thee not to go hungry nor to go naked " (20:118); "No food will be for them, but` bitter Dharir (bitter plant), which will neither nourish nor satisfy their hunger"(89:7); "But sure we shall best You with something of fear and hunger, loss in goods or lives or the fruits" (2:155); "So God made it taste of hunger and terror"(16:112).

(١٦٣) "So eat and drink of the sustenance provided by God and do no evil nor mischief on the earth" (2:60).

(١٦٤) "O ye childern of Adam, We have bestowed raiment upon you to cover it as well as to be an adornment to you" (7:26).

(١٦٥) "It is God who made your habitations houses of rest and quiet" (16:80) "Dwell in this town and eat ye therein as ye with" (7:161), "Dwell securely in the land" (17:104).

refuge in caves, mountains, corners or hills [(166)]. The total word is living (Ma'ash), mentioned 7 times—the good life in Paradise and life to be sworn by. The rest of the uses indicate life in time and in space, during the day and in the land, on earth, towns and villages, to exploit natural resources without excess in spending[(167)]. The relation between man and nature is determined by his actions in the world. Man should not commit mischief on earth. The word mischief (Fasad) is mentioned in the Qur'an 50 times, 11 as a noun (3 indefinite and 8 definite), 18 as a verb and 21 times as names of the wrongdoers. Man's relation to nature is an objective one. It does not depend on human passions and mere desires. God knows those who commit mischief on earth. They will receive severe punishment [(168)]. All people who committed mischief on earth perished. All prophets warned their people's against committing mischief on earth. Mischief on earth is like destroying vegetation, killing animals and washing away

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(١٦٦) "The youths betook themselves to the cave" (18:10); "I will betake myself to some mountain" (11:43); "We betook ourselves to the rock" (8:63); "I could betake myself to some powerful support" (11:80); "we gave them both shelter on high ground affording rest and security and furnished with springs." (23:5).

(١٦٧) "And made the day as means of sustenance" (78:11); "It is we who placed you with authority on earth and provided you therein with means for the fulfillment of your life" (7:10); 'And how many populations we destroyed which exulted in their life" (28:58).

(١٦٨)"Make not mischief on the earth" (2:11); "Do not make mischief on the earth after it hath been set in order" (7:56). "His aim everywhere is to spread mischief through the earth and destroy crops and cattle, but God loveth not mischief (2:205); "Mischief has appeared on land and sea, because of that the hands of men have eased"(30:41); "What I fear is lest He should change your religion or lest he should cause mischief to appear in the land." (40:26).

natural resources. The word useful is mentioned in the Qur'an 49 times, 19 as a nouns and 30 as a verb. Utility and harm are both criteria for human actions in nature. They are criteria for the true God, for the true faith and for the future. The principle of maximum of benefit and minimum of injury or damage becomes a principle of law [(169)]. The word damage is mentioned 66 times in the same context. A law can be cancelled if it causes damage[(170)]. The useful stays in earth, the useless goes. Knowledge has to be useful. Things, animals and humans have to be useful. Man has to weigh utility and damage before taking any decision. Therefore his relation to nature is a positive one.

The world for man is a field of action. The world (Dunia) is mentioned in the Qur'an 115 times in the definite singular mode, not connected to any possessive pronouns. Although 99 of the uses refer to negative meanings such as the limitations of the world, 16 uses refer to positive meanings to the world of action[(171)]. Action (Amal) is mentioned 359 times, 84 nouns and 275 verbs, which indicate the importance of the act itself, 17 without possessive pronouns and 67 with a possessive pronoun,

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(١٦٩) “For the scum disappears like froth cast out; while that which for the good of mankind remains on the earth” (13:17); They serve besides God things that hurt them not, nor profit them (10:18) “That they may witness the benefits for them " (22:28).

(١٧٠) “Nor call on any other than God. Such will neither profit thee nor hurt thee”. (10:106), “And they learned what harmed them not what profited them” (2:102).

(١٧١)“0 our lord, Give us good in this world and good in the hereafter” (2:201); “But seek to use the (wealth) which God has bestowed on thee, the home of the hereafter, nor forget thy portion in this world: (28:77); “Good is for those who do good in this world, spacious is God's earth” (39: 10).

indicating that actions are performed by humans; 41 in the plural and 43 in the singular, which indicates the equal importance of both individual and collective actions. God knows all human actions and sees their deeds. These deeds are of two kinds, good deeds which are a manifestation of good faith, and bad deeds come out of bad faith. Both deeds reveal human responsibility(172). The word (Sa'y) is mentioned 30 times to indicate the human dimension of the world, work to destroy or work to build (173). The world is a place for struggle, in which actions in the world culminate. The struggle is an open one, with known laws and definite results as history, from the beginning till the end of the world, will attest (174).

Man himself is mentioned in the Qur'an 65 times, always in the definite singular mode, without possessive pronouns. The uses refer to his biological origin, to his weaknesses, but also to his freedom and responsibility (175). The community (Umma) is

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(١٧٢) "And God is not unmindful of what ye do" (2:75); For God sees well all that ye do" (2:110); "For God is well aware of all that ye do" (3:153); "And who believe in God and the last day and work righteousness (2:62); "But the evil results of their deeds overtook them" (16:34); "Whoever works righteousness benefits his own soul. Whoever works evil it is against his own soul." (41:46).

(١٧٣) "That man can have nothing but what he strives for. That his striving will soon come in sight" (53:39); "Those who do wish for the hereafter and strive therefor with all due striving and have faith, they are the ones whose striving is acceptable" (17:19).

(١٧٤) "0 thou man! Verify thou art ever toiling on towards thy Lord, painfully toiling, but thou shalt meet Him" (84:6).

(١٧٥) "Every man's fate we have fastened on his own neck" (17:13); "Nay, man will be evidence against himself, even though he were to put up his excuses (75:14-5).

mentioned 49 times, referring to its unity and universality, to its moral message and to its responsibility [176]. In such a vision, the world, and consequently nature, is at the heart of the individual and social responsibility. Natural resources do not exist in a chaos without order, but they are carried on through human responsibility, and the moral message is carried by all mankind.

X. Conclusion

The conclusion can be summarized in the following points:

1 - Nature is not a thing, but a cultural perception determines man's attitude towards nature. Nature functions in relation to man and man in relation to nature.

2 - Nature is also related to God as an absolute value. Nature is the creation of God and a manifestation of his Attributes. Consequently, Nature is also a value.

3 - Nature, by the fact of creation, is ephemeral, contingent, or an accident. However, it is a field of action for man, a test for his life, a striving duration which engages him in a process of domination of nature, subjected to him by God’s command, through his reason and free will.

4 - The outcome of human life is determined by this effort. His happiness, his joys and his immortality are conditioned by his success in this trial.

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(١٧٦) “That was a people that hath passed away. They shall reap the fruit of what they did, and ye of what ye do. Of their merits there is no question in your case" (2:134).

8 - Man's responsibility and accountability protect nature from draining, wasting or destroying natural resources. His responsibility stretches to the whole universe, not only to social groups.

9- The actual Muslim World, unfortunately, lost this cultural perspective in the last seven hundred years, during its decline. God, in contemporary Muslim consciousness, is absorbing nature in a theocentric vision inherited from traditional Orthodoxy. A restructuring of Muslim consciousness is highly necessary to rediscover nature as described in the Qur'an.

10 - The Qur'anic vision can be transmitted to the European consciousness through similar perceptions in the romantic vision of nature, as well as of the enlightenment. Nature as a living entity, determined by a law conceived by man, namely the concept of Nature in the eighteenth century, can help nowadays to rescue European consciousness from its present crisis, the destruction of nature as a result of a perversion of a cultural perspective.

PHILOSOPHY OF SPACE (*)

1 - Introduction: The Three Elements.

Any site is a conjunction between space and time. Space serves as matter and time as form. Space offers nature and time offers history. This conjunction is made through human mediation, perception as Weltanschauung and action. A city is not a mere dwelling in space. Buildings are not constructed casually but according to human perception. Urbanism is not only engineering, but it carries with it a whole human perception. Construction was one of the early manifestations of human culture.

Nowadays, a dislocation between these three elements occurs. Space is absent because the world has been lost from Muslim consciousness. Time disappeared and Muslims were located outside history, anchored nowhere or in no man's land. Muslims dwell in cities outside their own space, time and perception-- that means outside history.

Some Arab palaces or governmental buildings are built according to the original unity between these three elements. But they are exceptions in huge areas of dislocation, discontinuity and disparity. They are also built by political and social elites as a manifestation of wealth and power, not as historical and international perception. They are regarded as city museums, a relic from the past, to be admired and remembered.

(*) Islamic City Conference, Medina Saoudi Arabia, 1977. (the paper was send, the air-ticket arrived, not the visa!).

The drama of the Arab city nowadays is the denaturalization of space, the discontinuity in time and the "reification" of the Weltanschauung.

II - The Natural Space

Islam gave the Muslim community the whole earth as space for action and inheritance. Man is the vice-gerant of God on Earth. His role is to subdue nature, to work in it, and to use its laws for his own benefit. Earth is a place to be dwelt in and to build in [1].

Nature is described in the Qur'an as green land. Water falls from above (rain) or bursts from below (wells), and transforms an arid yellow desert into fertile green land. Plants grow, bringing shade and fruits.

Man lives on Earth in this natural space, in the valleys or on mountains, to enjoy nature, the creation of God and beautiful like God [2]. Natural cold water serves for praying and drinking[3]. The description of Paradise is also presented in the same natural images: green, water, trees, shadows, fruits, myrtle, breeze, calm, quietness and peace [4]. Even furniture has been described, liked

(١) “It is He who hath produced you from the earth and settled you therein.”(11:61).

(٢) “Ye build for yourselves palaces and castles in (open) plains, and curve out homes in the mountains.” (7:71); “0 our Lord! I have made some of my offspring to dwell in a valley without cultivation by the Sacred House...” (14:37).

(٣) “Here is (water) wherein to wash, cool and refreshing, and (water) to drink (38:42)

(٤) “There is (for him) rest and satisfaction and a Garden of Delights” (56:89). “And the shades of the (Garden) will come low over thee, and the bunches (of fruit) there, will hang low in humility " (74:14)

sofas, pots, carpets, and curtains. Delightful colors were even described in nature, to paint the picturesque in nature [5].

Natural light comes from the sky, the moon and the stars [6]. The natural time in open areas serves as a measure for praying in time. In short, the Earth is full of God's signs. Man enjoys these signs and builds on them his own dwellings and life-styles.

In classical Muslim culture, natural philosophy was a part of wisdom after logic and before metaphysics. It preceded metaphysics, showing the importance of nature. Although natural philosophy was conceived in a dualistic Greek terminology, as in Avicenna, it was present in any case in Muslim consciousness. Al-Farabi conceived natural philosophy and metaphysics as one science. Averroes preferred Aristotle to Plato because he chose Aristotelian naturalism, not Platonic Theosophy. In Theology, nature was also the first topic in the Islamic belief-system, even before the Divine Attributes. Nature was described as contingent and possible, versus God the Necessary Being. Natural philosophy was important in Mu'tazilism. The Naturalists like Mu'ammar, Thumama, Al-Gahiz, Al-Nazzam, were truly expressing an Islamic dimension of reality. Mysticism went too far, making from Nature a manifestation of Divinity. Pantheism went to the extent of deifying God's Sign. Moreover, Islamic law is a natural law. It recognizes natural behavior as good behavior. Primitive innocence

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(٥) "With it then bring out produce of various colors. And in the mountains are tracts, white and red, of various shades of color and black, intense in hue." (35:27)

(٦) "It is He who made the sun to be shining glory and the moon to be a light of beauty" (10:5)

(Al-Bara'at Al-Asliya), is a source of law. Necessities of life are maintained as the base of law. Islam is well known as a nature religion. This naturalism appeared in Islamic Art in the Arab city. The classical Arab city was based on natural space, with air, sun, green, water and sky. Nature is the creation of God, a manifestation of His bounty and a sign of His beauty. This image was behind Islamic naturalism in Art, and the base of urbanism.

After the decline of Islamic culture, nature disappeared from Muslim consciousness. It became negative, void and impure.

The world slipped away from the Muslim Worldview. The Vice regency faded. Indifference, lack of interest, loss of vocation shaped Muslim attitudes towards nature. Imperialism pushed the Muslims away from the world. Oppression narrowed down their scope and reduced their activity to the minimum. Poverty made the Muslims creatures struggling for survival.

That decline also appeared in urbanism. Urbanism is now the expression of this nature loss. It became denaturalized: closed areas, obscurity, dryness, ceiling. The natural site became an artificial one. House-boxes are made only for survival. Cities lost their types and enclaves.

Unfortunately the current revival of naturalism is made from without, not from within, as an imitation of Western naturalism, not as a continuation of the classical Islamic Ideal. Modern naturalism is connected to materialism and secularism. It has been cut-off from its ideational source, namely the Islamic worldview. However, this new "imported" naturalism was confined to the elite. For the Muslim masses, nature is spoiled, a

place on which human impurities can be thrown. When the natural space is recovered in the Muslim consciousness, the Arab city reappears.

III - Continuity of Time

The survival of the Arab city in history is conditioned by a second element, the continuity of time. This continuity appeared in Islamic Art. Islamic Art does not destroy previous works of Art (except idols) but rebuilds and adds new dimensions and functions. Islam does not recognize the "museumisation" of Art. That means the discontinuous vision of history of Art. Every generation adds to the previous one. Art is a work of accumulation. The line of continuity may be vertical, as in temples, or horizontal as in Mosques and cities. In the first line, the progress in construction appears in different layers of periods and style (Ancient Egyptian, Roman, Coptic, Islamic). Any temple from any religion can be built upon. Islam, the last phase in revelation, made the Mosque the inheritor of previous houses of worship. In the second line, the progress begins from the center to the periphery, as in Arab cities which developed from the center around a focal point, the big Mosque, the market place, the public baths, the schools, the bookshops (warraqun), namely the Bazar.

This continuity in time is due to classical Islamic culture. God is eternal. That means continuous in time. The world is also continuous according to the philosophers, especially Averroes. Eschatology, is also based on the perception of continuation. Death is not a rupture between the present and the future. Life after death is a continuation of life on this earth. In Paradise or

Hell, life is continuous and can be forever. Because time is a continuous flux, Revelation was revealed in successive periods of time. Every prophet continued the work of the previous prophets and accomplished it. Each expressed the same unity (Tawhid) in the socio-political context of the time. Abraham was a Hanifite and the Ka'aba was reaffirmed and purified. All the prophets were Muslims. Islam is an accumulation of a long history of revelation. Abrogation in revelation negates and affirms, from the good to the better, or from the better to the best. Mysticism also affirmed this continuity, whether in the individual consciousness or in the cosmos. The unity itself is a manifestation of continuity. The four sources in Islamic Jurisprudence indicate a continuous model, from the Qur'an to the Hadith to Ijma' to Qias. Every source reveals a configuration of revelation in history. Historians also viewed the history of the world since the creation of Adam as a manifestation of the same Divine Wisdom. This ideational perception was behind the homogeneity of style in the classical Arab city.

Nowadays, time in the Muslim consciousness has become discontinuous. This continuity of tradition is broken by Westernization. Another cultural flow was interjected and became responsible for this heterogeneity in urbanization and the conversion of Arabesque to steel and glass and from the arcades to the squares. If continuity in some instances is maintained, it is no longer creative, but mere imitation of the past. In this case, it does not express any authenticity. It does not differ from Westernization. Both are imitations. The loss of the self and the alienation to the other was very detrimental to the Arab city. The creation of a complex of inferiority vis a vis the West, being

victims of the Western myth, which made from the Western culture a universal model for all cultures, emphasizing mass-production and the industry of construction. All theses manifestations of Westernization are at the roots of the drama of the contemporary Arab city, the dichotomy between the two cities, the old city and the new city.

IV - Tawhid as Perception

Tawhid as perception is the third element which joins together space and time in a human setting, guiding Muslim consciousness and motivating it towards unity, infinity and Transcendence. The Arabesque was the manifestation of the Tawhid in Art. Geometric figures were multiplied ad infinitum. The small unity was the image of the total unity. The Transcendence protected Muslim consciousness from the fixation and materialization of figurative arts.

This perception was already painted in classical Islamic culture. The unity of God was vehemently defended against all kinds of dualism and pluralism. The Mu'tazilites have even denied the Attributes by fear of pluralism. The Unity of God is not a mere principle of faith, independent from human life, but a source of vision, a norm of action and a law of society. The powers of man are one. Consequently, there is no room for hypocrisy and double talk. The society is one. Therefore there is no room for social classes. The world is one without any separation between body and soul, the temporal and the spiritual, the profane and the sacred. Humanity is one without any discrimination on the basis of color, race, language or nation. The infinity was also defended as an attribute of God alone. The

world, in opposition. is finite with a beginning and an end. That is why God is described as Eternal and Everlasting. Transcendence versus anthropomorphism was also a hot battle in Islamic Theology. Mu'tazillism defended the Transcendence to the extent of denying the Attributes, for fear of any resemblance between human attributes. According to the Asharites, the Essence of God can neither be represented by human images, nor expressed by human language.

Nowadays, this Weltanschauung has collapsed because of the decline of the Muslim world. The Tawhid became "reified". The Unity of God is converted to disparate plurality, without any sense of purpose or direction. The infinity in Muslim consciousness narrowed down without any vision. It has even been converted to chauvinism, sectarianism and tribalism. The Transcendence does not carry Muslim consciousness towards the beyond (L'au-dezla). On the contrary, Muslim consciousness has fallen down into fixation, stagnation and lethargy.

This decline has appeared in the Arab city. Styles of construction are disparate, even in the same street. The city has lost its unity and its homogeneity. It is not even pluralism, which can be seen as a high level of unseen unity, rather it is mere dissonance. Statues are everywhere. Figurative arts are dominating. Representations became limited in time and space and have lost their infinity.

Muslim reformers tried to reactivate the Tawhid in Muslim consciousness. Mohammed Ibn Abd Al-Wahab rejected all forms of intercession between man and God as forms of idolatry. Al-Afghani tried also to reactivate the Tawhid to liberate the

Muslim world from external domination and internal oppression, and to unify the whole periphery to one center. This recent effort was unable to overcome the decline of Muslim culture and consequently to rescue the Arab city.

V - Conclusion

A whole process of civilizational renaissance is required to recover these three lost ideals, such as space as nature, time as history and Tawhid as Weltanschauung. Islamic urbanism is conditioned by Islamic renaissance. If the decline of the Muslim world has stretched over seven centuries, Islamic renaissance has just begun since the last century. The Arab city is not only the carrier of its character and Islamic cultural heritage, but it is also its manifestation. The point of departure for any hopeful change is to revive the Islamic heritage that the Arab city carries in the hearts of the inhabitants, before changing the urbanism of the city. This is also the Qur'anic image of the city and of those who dwell in it. The city is its inhabitants and the inhabitants are their Weltanschauung, which includes faith, piety and truthfulness. These are the foundations of the city. The city can be the place of malice, hypocrisy, disobedience, impurity, corruption, mischief and fear. In this case, the city is called Qaria in the Qur'an. It can also be the place of piety (7). In this last meaning, the house (Bayt) is conceived. Dwelling also means calm and quietness of the soul. Therefore the cultural heritage is the only foundation of the Arab city.

(v) “Then, there came running from the farthest part of the city, a man saying 0 my people obey the apostles." (36:20); "There is a mosque whose foundation was laid from the first day on piety. It is more worthy of they standing forth (for prayer) therein. In it are men who love to be purified; and God loveth those who make them pure.” (9:108).

A CHALLENGE TO THE NOTION OF ISLAMIC CITY

I- Introduction

The challenge of the present situation to the notion of the Islamic city is a particular case of the whole challenge of modernity to Islam, of the present to the past, of the real to the Ideal, of the is to the ought. Urbanism incorporates Law, Art, Philosophy, Theology, Mysticism. This creates a meeting point between the heritage of the past and the new challenges of the present. The question is, how far the Ideal of the past can be realized in the present, in spite of different circumstances?

The answer to this question is fourfold:

1- What is the traditional concept of dwelling, private in homes, or public in cities?

2- How was this traditional concept realized with inexpensive local materials in the past?

3- To what extent is this concept still living in the hearts of the Muslims, architects and inhabitants.

II- The Traditional Concept of Dwelling

The traditional concept of dwelling can be deduced from the Islamic Weltanschauung, the concept of unity, Tawhid, unity between the Ideal and the Real (homes), between man and nature (environment), and between man and man (community). Homes, environment and community are the three components of the city.

The Weltanschauung can be drawn from a content-analysis of major Qur'anic key-words of habitation such as place

(makan), dwelling (sakan), home (dar), house (bayt), village (Quariat), city (madinah). The six concepts are structured in an hierarchical order, from the general to the particular, from the abstract to the concrete, from the simple space to the actual city. All of them indicate that dwelling in Islam is not a mere construction. It is rather habitation. It is not simple space divided by walls and holes, but a human setting.

Place (makan), mentioned 27 times, does not mean material only, or position, stand filled by human beings, but husbands, actions (good or bad) and things (verses) [(1)]. It can also be moving, referring to all directions of the winds or of the waves[(2)]. It can be far or near, vast or narrow, not as a measured distance but as feeling and expectation. Space, like time, is conscious, internal not external [(3)]. It means also degree, step or value. Each individual has his own value, passive or active, negative or positive [(4)]. The literal word for degree (makanah) is from the same root [(5)].

Dwelling (sakan), 23 times a noun, 20 verb, is from the same root (sakinah), which means quietude. Nature also dwells and gives quietude in the soul. Day and night, valley and wind, land and Paradise, also are quiet dwellings [(6)]. Man lives in quiet nature during the nights. Husbands dwell in their wives as waters dwell

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(١) Qur'an 4: 20; 7:95. 16:101: 10:78, 7:143.

(٢) Qur'an 10:72, 22:31; 14:31. 14:17. 19:112: 25:12.

(٣) Qur'an 50:41, 34:51-53, 41:44. 70:85; 25:13.

(٤) Qur'an 5:60. 1177, 19:7S. 25:34.

(٥) Qur'an 6.135, 11:83, 11:12), 3935; 36:67.

(٦) Qur'an 6:13; 10:67; 28:73; 40:61; 28:72, 27:86; 42:33. 6:96.

in earth [7]. However, dwellings can be destroyed because of human injustices and reconstructed because of human justice. The real foundation of dwelling is virtue, not material foundations. Opulence destroys, austerity constructs. The just inherit the unjust[8]. The inhabitants are the very basis of habitation. Dwelling can be in homes or cities, for rest and shelter. Homes and cities without inhabitants are signs of destruction [9].

The word house (dar), 49 times (32 singular, 17 plural) has two meanings: figurative and literal. The figurative sense refers to eternal life, whether in a positive sense, as a reward, such as the other home, home of peace of rest, of high rank, of piety, or in a negative sense as a punishment such as: home of loss, of evil and of impiety [10]. The positive meaning (11 times) prevails on the negative (6 times) and the neutral (9 times). The literal sense means house, usually in a negative, meaning, house destruction as punishment because of injustices, house expulsion by aggression which requires self-defense and back-fighting [11].

The word house (bayt), 29 times singular, 37 plural, has also two meanings, figurative and literal. The figurative refers to the desire of each believer to have a house in Paradise, as a reward for his good deeds in this world, where there are doors, a symbol of openness, and beds to lean upon, an image of rest [12]. The mosque

(٧) Qur'an 30:31; 7:189. 2:35; 7:19; 14:37, 23:18.

(٨) Qur'an 45:14; 28:25; 14:49; 20:128; 32:26; 22:58.

(٩) Qur'an 34:15; 9:24; 9:72; 61:12; 44:45; 21:13; 27: 18.

(١٠) Qur'an 11:28; 28:81; 7:78; 7:91; 25:37; IT5.

(١١) Qur'an 2:84; 60:8-9; 2:246; 2:85; 2:243; 3:195; 8:47; 11:94; 2:40; 33:27; 59:2; 59:8.

(١٢) Qur'an 66:11; 43:34; 10:87; 33:34.

is called the house of God. Mecca is called the prohibited house (al-bayt al-haram), the place where shedding blood is illicit. All pious houses can serve as a point of direction (Kibla) for all peoples. They are places of learning and reading the Qur'an.

In contrast, the house of spider is a metaphor indicating the fragility of impiety [(13)]. It is perishable, even if it is made out of gold and silver, well decorated. These houses are doomed to ruin, since piety is the way to survival. They become empty of their inhabitants because of their injustices and their destructive deeds. The house is its inhabitants. The family of the prophet is called (Ahl al-Bayt). Expelling the inhabitants from their houses gives them a right to self-defense. However, a voluntary and temporary exile, away from persecution, is possible, before the victorious return. The house is a shelter, a secure place to stay in, to live and to survive [(14)]. It has its own protection, honor, respect and privacy. A house in Egypt would be secure twice, from the house and from the country, since Egypt is a land of security. The inhabitants are civilized in their manners: entry by front-doors, asking permission, greetings and shyness [(15)]. In the literal sense, house means construction. It can be made from rocks, like palaces in valleys, or caves in mountains. It can also be made of animal leather, such as tents, easily carried in wars [(16)]. The house has an outside and an inside. The outside is land, while the inside is the natural court, wide reception, the alter, the

(١٣) Qur'an 29:41; 43:33; 17:93; 27:52; 59:2.

(١٤) Qur'an 51:26; 8:5, 4: 10; 65: 1.

(١٥) Qur'an 8:16, 33:33; 3:49; 3:154.. 24:61; 24:27; 24:29; 22:61. 33:13.

(١٦) Qur'an 7:74; 115:82; 16:68, 26:149; 16:80.

shelter and the rooms [17]. The glory of man on earth is to construct, to build and to erect [18].

Land is the place of dwelling, with its green space, springs and mountains [19].

The world village (Quariat), 57 times: 37 singular, 1 dual, 19 plural. This means the destiny of the house inhabitants as a whole, their course in history, death or survival. Most of the word usages describe the destruction of towns because of their injustices, opulence, corruption, permissiveness, imitation and disobedience to the Law [20]. The destruction is preceded by warnings, through the prophets and messengers, giving an opportunity for human response [21]. Pious towns practicing virtue are safe and secure [22]. The village has its own function in producing food, selling products in market-places, namely an economic role. It also assumes the duty of defending its inhabitants, fortifying its towers and walls [23]. The village is subject to the vicissitudes of history. It is not only a geographical site, but also a historical given, not only in space but also in time. It is subject to birth and death, renaissance and downfall, construction and destruction. History is replete with examples.

(١٧) Qur'an 89:7.1 30:9, 11:61; 52:4.

(١٨) Qur'an 58:11; 49A, 17, 19:11; 38:21; 34:12, 55, 72.

(١٩) Qur'an 88:12; 76:6; 76: j 81. 55:50~ 66.. 15:45. 26.57, 54:12, 9:57.

(٢٠) Qur'an 7:4; 15:4; 17:16; 17:58; 21:6; 21:11; 22:45; 22:48.. 21:74; 21:95; 26:208; 29:34; 47:13; 43:23; 65:8; 6:131; 11:102,117; 29:59; 18:59; 46:27; 34:24.

(٢١) Qur'an 7:94; 43:31; 12:109; 42:7; 25:51; 6:92.

(٢٢) Qur'an 7:196; 10:98.

(٢٣) Qur'an 7:161; 59:14; 7:163; 12:82; 59:7; 18:77; 36:13; 7:82; 7:88; 7: 10; 11: 100; 34:28.

Finally the word city (Madinah), 14 times singular (3 plural) indicates the inhabitants, not the house. They are people (ahl), tribe (raht), women, boys or even one individual man. People in the city may be hypocritical or sincere, doing bad or doing good[24]. The city is a place whether for gossiping and fear or for truthfulness and joy. It is a place for social and political struggle. The individual consciousness does not yield to the connivance of the collective consciousness. He awakes and warns.

In short, the traditional concept of dwelling is focused on inhabitants not habitation, on human beings not on stones. The space is in man, not man in the space. The house is in the dweller, not the dweller in the house.

III - The Realization of the Ideal in the Past

The Islamic city is a circular type. It begins from the center and stretches all around. In the center is the big mosque, the religious center of the city, the first institution to be built by army leaders in the new open land, as a symbol of the new Idea, freedom and equality for all, under the same universal code of ethics. From the mosque the new policies are declared, discussed, accepted or even opposed. The Idea is the base of settlement. Even if the city itself is destroyed, the big mosque in the center survives the vicissitudes of history (Kutubiya in Marrakech, Sauma'at Hassan in Rabat, La Guardia in Sevillia, the mosque of Cordoba.

Beside the mosque, the tent of the head of the army is erected. Later on, it became the palace, the Alcazars in Andalusian

(٢٤) Qur'an 7:123; 9:101,120; 12:30; 15:67; 18:19; 27:19; 47:48; 28:15; 28:2; 23:60; 26:20.

cities, the center of political power. The head of the army rules from the palace and prays in the mosque. This neighborhood is the symbol of unity between religious and political power. In case of revolt, the palace is assaulted, the mosque not. The executive power changes, the legislative power not. The center of the city is like the heart in the body It directs and ordains.

The school (Madrasah) is the third component of the center. Islam is based on learning. Islam, as a religion, gave only the general guidelines, the major principles. Afterwards, reason deduces and senses induces. Learning is the natural outcome of religion. No differences exist between religious sciences and world sciences, mathematics, physics or human sciences. All sciences contribute in forming the Islamic Worldview. Differences of view were highly respected and even imposed their own style in construction. The four walls of the Madrasah, or even the four corners of the court of the mosque, are four chairs representing the four schools of Law. The school is at the same time a place for learning and dwelling. Every student has his small room, desk, prayer rug and bed. The simple life is the road to vocational life. The rooms were built around the court, the siege of the master, on different floors, till the minaret. Beside the school or annexed to it is the library (Kyrawan).

The market is the space of common welfare, beginning with the book-market beside or around the center and followed in circular or long lanes, as the house of a spider, by the artisans and handcrafts. Each profession has its own quarter. Because of narrow lanes all live in one family. The life of the (souk), the

(bazar), is not only economic but also social political and cultural life. Major issues were discussed. Theologians, philosophers, scientists and artists were craftsmen or traders. There was no difference between intellectual and manual work.

Houses were everywhere, beginning from the center, from houses of Judges, scholars, emirs, big merchants, notables, to the periphery where are the houses of ordinary people. They are very close to each other, showing a strong social solidarity. Lanes are very narrow for the sake of defense. Walls of public buildings are big and high to protect from the sun and to bring shadow all the day (Sultan Hassan and Rifa'i mosques in Cairo). Water fountains (sabils) are signposts at the main street corners for public use, for all living creatures. Public baths are the material concretization of cleanliness (Tahara).

The Arab house is a combination of nature and space. The construction is done around a green area, with water springs. The outside switched to the inside. Nature is the center of the home and the house is surrounding nature. The house is modest and small, low as the surface and wide as the space. The height is only for the minaret in order that the voice, calling for prayer, reaches all the inhabitants around. On mountains, houses grow on the top of the hills, built from the same stone, with the same color, following the mountain’s natural lines, as seen in Yemen (Sa'da, Hajja).

The Jewish quarter is a part of the Islamic city built on the same traditional concept. There is no difference between a synagogue and a mosque, except the dome and the minaret (Corboba). Since the Jews are a legal community, they have their

absolute right to live according to their own Law, the Torah. They form a part within the whole, within the same human Arabesque. It does not mean seclusion, reclusion or separation, even if it is so perceived by traditional Jewish particularism.

Finally, the city walls surround the city, with gates according to the four directions, and linked by fortresses for defense and mosques for prayer in the periphery (Cordoba, Cairo, Fez, Rabat, Meknes, Marrakech). The city is like a bright star in the dark sky of the desert [25].

IV- Challenges of the Present

Any site is a conjunction between space and time. Space serves as matter and time as form. Space offers nature and time offers history. This conjunction is made through human mediation, perception as Weltanschauung and action. A city is not a mere dwelling in space. Buildings are not constructed casually but according to human perception. Urbanism is not only engineering, but carries with it a whole human perception. Construction was one of the early manifestations of human culture.

Nowadays, a dislocation between these three elements occurs. Space is absent because the world has been lost from Muslim consciousness. Time disappeared and Muslims became outside history, anchored nowhere, in no man's land. Muslims dwell in cities outside their own space, time and perception,

(٢٥) Mousallam Sakka Amini: The inward dimension of the Islamic city; a mystical Sufi approach, research report on Urbanism in Islam, Monograph Series no 14. Urbanism in Islam project.

namely outside history. Some Arab palaces or governmental buildings (Morocco, Gulf) are built according to the original unity between these three elements. But they are exceptions in huge areas of dislocation, discontinuity and disparity. They are also built by political and social elites, as a manifestation of power and wealth, not as a historical continuity or an intentional perception. They are looked at as city museums, a relic of the past, to be admired and remembered. The drama of the Arab city nowadays is the denaturalization of space, the discontinuity in time and the reification of the Weltanschauung.

After the decline of Islamic culture, natural space disappeared from Muslim consciousness. It became negative, void and impure. The world slipped away from the Muslim Worldview. The vice-gerancy faded down. Indifference, lack of interest and loss of vocation shaped Muslim attitudes towards nature. Imperialism pushed the Muslims away from the world. Oppression narrowed down their scope and reduced their activity to the minimum. Poverty burdened Muslim generations struggling for survival. That decline appeared in urbanism. Urbanism is now the expression of this loss of nature. It became denaturalized: closed areas, obscurity, dryness, ceiling. The natural site became an artificial one. House-boxes are made only for survival. Cities lost their types and enclaves. Unfortunately, the revival of naturalism is made from without, not from within, as an imitation of Western naturalism, not as a continuation of the traditional Islamic Ideal. Modern naturalism is connected to materialism and secularism. It has been cut off from its ideational source, the Islamic Worldview. However, this new "Imported" naturalism was confined to the elite, by imitation not

by creation. For the Muslim masses, nature is spoiled, a place on which human impurities and dirt can be thrown. Pollution became a substitute nature, even without knowing it. When the natural space is recovered in the Muslim consciousness, Islamic urbanism may reappear.

After the disappearance of the natural space, time also became discontinuous in the Muslim consciousness. The continuity of tradition is broken by Westernization. Another cultural flow was interjected and became responsible for this heterogeneity in Urbanization and the conversion of Arabesque to steel and glass, from the arcades to the squares. If continuity is maintained in some instances, it is no more creative but mere imitation of the past, for the purpose of social control and political power. A traditionalist leader, in the eyes of traditionalist masses, has more audience and receives more obedience. In this case, it does not reveal any authenticity. It does not differ from Westernization. Both are imitations. The loss of the self and the alienation in the other was very detrimental to Islamic urbanism, via the creation of a complex of inferiority vis à vis the West, being Victims of the Western myth which made Western culture a universal model for all cultures, falling into the Western mass production and the industry of construction. All these manifestations of Westernization in Muslim consciousness are at the roots of the drama of contemporary Islamic urbanism, the dichotomy between the two cities, the old city and the new city.

Natural space was lost, time was discontinued, and the third element, Weltanschauung, collapsed because of the decline of the Muslim world. Tawhid became "reified". The unity of God is converted to disparate plurality in Muslim consciousness, narrowed

down without any ambition. It has even been converted to chauvanism, sectarianism and tribalism. The Transcendence does not carry Muslim consciousness towards the beyond anymore. On the contrary, Muslim consciousness fell down into fixation, stagnation and lethargy. This decline now appears in the Islamic city. Styles of construction are disparate, even in the same street. The city lost its unity and its homogeneity. It is not even pluralism, which can be seen as a high level of unseen unity, but it is mere dissonance. Statues are everywhere. Figurative arts are dominating. Representations became limited in time and space and lost their infinity. Efforts of Muslim reformers to reactivate the Tawhid in the hearts of the Muslims have not overcome the decline of Muslim culture and consequently not rescued the Islamic city [(26)].

A whole process of civilizational renaissance is required to recover these three lost ideals of space as nature, time as history and Tawhid as Weltanschauung. Islamic urbanism is conditioned by Islamic renaissance. If the decline of the Muslim World has stretched over seven centuries, Islamic renaissance has just begun in the last two centuries. The Islamic city is not only the carrier of its character and Islamic cultural heritage, but it is also its manifestation. The point of departure of any hopeful change is to revive the Islamic heritage which the Islamic city carried in the hearts of the inhabitants before changing urbanism. The Ideal comes first, the Real follows. That was the lesson drawn from the past. It may also be preserved as dictum for the future [(27)].

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(٢٦) Hassan Hanafi: Philosophy of Space, Arab city Symposium p. 1 Washington D.C., 1982. Also, this Volume ch. III, 4.

(٢٧) Anowar Abdelmalek: Urbanization and Civilizational Strategy, Research Report on Urbanism in Islam, monograph series no 7. Urbanism in Islam project.

THE GREENERY
BETWEEN ISLAMIC TRADITION
AND THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE IN EGYPT TODAY[*]

1 - Green Color in Islamic Tradition

Green color is the highest value-color in the Islamic Tradition, by opposition to yellow. Both green and yellow color are symbols of vegetation and dryness. The two colors are taken in a literal sense, referring to plants, trees, grass deep-rooted in Earth, by opposition to dry and yellow straw, withered by the wind [(1).] Green color is not only a symbol of good action, famous in parables, but a real description of livable land. A land without cultivation is unlivable and unfit for family and social life [(2).] Greenery is one of the Divine Acts in Nature, through rain falling

(*) International Green Forum, Cultural Approaches to the Greening of the Urban Environment 1986, 0saka, Japan.

(١) "and if We (but) send a wind from which they see (their tilth) turn yellow..." (30:51). "Seest thou not that God sends down rain from the sky and leads it though springs in the earth? Then he causes to grow therewith produce of various colors. Then it withers. Thou wilt see it grow yellow. Then He makes it dry up and crumble away" (39:21). "Here is similitude: How rain and the growth which it brings forth delight the hearts on the tillers. Soon it withers. Thou wilt see it grow yellow. Then it becomes dry and crumbles away..." (57:20). "And we send down from die sky rain charged with blessing, and we produce therewith gardens and grain for harvest " (50:9). "And do we not send down from the clouds water in abundance, that we may produce therewith corn and vegetables, and gardens of luxurious growth"(78:14-16).

(٢) "O our Lord! I have made some of my offspring to dwell in a valley without cultivation ..." (14:37).

on earth and transforming the yellow sand to green vegetation [(3)]. What comes down from heavens by Divine Act has to be reciprocated in Nature via cultivating vegetation by human Act. Forests are only a model of vegetation, to be reproduced in fields[(4)]. Divine Grace, expressed through natural laws of falling waters from clouds, gushing waters from springs, flowing waters from rivers, generates human free acts of plantation, cultivation and vegetation, including all techniques of water conservation such as dams, canals and reservoirs.

Green is the color of life, which is also one of the Divine Attributes. Green color is the origin of other colors, namely the red! Once a green tree becomes dry it catches fire and becomes red [(5)]. This is not a physical analysis of color, but rather an image of contradictions in human life. Vegetation and fire, green and red, are both life substances. By extension, green revolution preceeds red revolution, that means increasing production before equal distribution, working in Nature before building society. Primitive life is at the very base of culture. The world culture itself means both productions, crops and human inventions.

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(٣) "Seest thou not that God sends down rain from the sky, and forthwith the earth becomes clothed with green?" (22:63).

(٤) "It is he who sends down rain from the sky. From it ve drink and out of it (grows) the vegetation on which ye feed your cattle. With it he produces for you corn, olives, date-palms, grapes and every kind of fruit..."(16:10-1). "And do they not see that we do drive rain to parched soil (bare of herbage) and produce therewith crops, providing food for their cattle and themselves?" (32:27).

(٥) "The same who produces for you fire out of the green tree... " (36:80).

Even Paradise, which symbolizes human hope in a better future, is almost a garden with trees, shadows, fruits, waters. Its furniture is of green cloth, suitable to the green areas all around. Beneath the Paradise are flowing rivers and gushing springs [(6).] Singing birds, fresh air, silence and leisure are symbols of natural life, not only at the beginning of social life and civil society, but also after the end of a human civilization era, now returning to Nature. The famous slogan "Retour a la Nature" is a real motto in the Islamic Tradition.

In classical Islamic Law, whoever greens a sandy land has the right to own it. Greening is an act of ownership attribution. A dry land does not exist humanly and socially, even if it exists geographically and physically. Greening a dry land is creating its real existence. Land is land-use [(7).] Already, in the Hamurabi Laws, God (Shamash) speaks a rural language. His rays are directed towards vegetation in complete identity between spiritual and botanical life. In Ancient Egypt, the river Nile, the plants and the animals were Gods.

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(٦) "And corn fields and date-palms with sheathes near breaking (with the weight of fruit)" (26:148). "With it we grow for you Gardens of date-palms and vines. In them have ye abundant fruits and of them ye eat" (23:19). "Reclining on green cushions and rich carpets of beauty" (55:76). "Upon them will be green garments of fine silk and brocade ..." (76:21). "And they will wear green garments of fine silk and heavy brocade (18:3 1).

(٧) "A sign for them is the earth that is dead. We do give it life and produce grain there-from, of which ye do eat. And We produce therein orchards with date palms and vines, and we cause springs to gush forth therein, that they may enjoy the fruits of this (artistry) and what their hands have done..." (36:33-34).

Finally, in Islamic mystical tradition, green turbans, green dress and green emblems are marks of prophethood and signs of holiness. The Proto-mystical idealized historical figure called Sheikh Khadr means the "Green Saint". He knows the esoteric truth, communicates it to his followers and guides the whole community to the right path.

II - Greenery in Traditonal Egypt

People of the desert appreciate the most green color. Through popular imagination as expressed in folklore and in poetry, the dry land is converted to wells and springs. The burning sun is transformed to shady oasis. Through urbanism, palaces with internal gardens and springs are built, such as the famous Al-Hambra in Grenada. The traditional Arab house still in Morocco, Tunisia and Andalusia is built around a garden in an open court, almost in nature, in open air and under open sky. Tradition air circulation systems, taking advantage of the wind currents and rays of the sun, with natural light, are major landmarks in Islamic architecture (8).

Being a part of the Muslim World, traditional Egypt continued on the same line till the modern revolution, with the traditional green foliage, green areas around Cairo and national parks inside the city. Popular songs, painting and films were all expressing the green color as a traditional value symbol of the green land. Once political party chose the "green shirt" as a

(٨) Leslie Browning, Ph.D. Home Gardening in International Development; the League for International Food Education. Washington, D.C., 1985; The Islamic Garden p. 15-16.

symbol of party membership. Without being a literal green party, green color was identified with nationalism.

Indeed, Egypt is described in Islamic Tradition as the fertile land as the fertile crescent, the land of butter and honey. Any nomad who wants to settle down, avoiding drought, hunger and monotonous food, has to go to Egypt where varieties of plants grow,including pot-herbs, cucumbers, garlic, lentils, onions(9). The River Nile is the main source of water, controlled and managed by the Central political power for irrigation (10). That is why Egypt is a land of dwelling, of generosity and of security (11).

After the revolution, new green areas have been gained after the construction of the high Dam. These are the new valley, binding the five Oases in the Western desert, the extension of the Delta Westwards and Eastwards, the expansion of the long valley of the Nile in width on both sides, the greening of the Northern plateau in Sinai, the drying of Northern lakes inside the Delta.

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(٩) “And remember ye said “0 Moses! We cannot endure one kind of food (always). So beseech thy Lord to produce for us of what the earth growth, its pot-herbs and cucumbers, its garlic, lentils and onions". He said "Will ye exchange the better for the worse? Go ye down to Egypt (any town) and ye shall find what ye want”(2:61).

(١٠) “And Pharaoh proclaimed among his people, saying “0 my people! does not the domination of Egypt belong to me, (witness) these streams flowing underneath my (Palace)?” (43:51).

(١١) “He inspired Moses and his brother with this message, provide dwellings for your people in Egypt ..." (10:87); “The man of Egypt who bought him said to his wife, “Make his stay (among-us) honourable..."(12:21); " Then when they entered the presence of Joseph, he provided a home for his parents with himself and said “Enter ye Egypt (all) in safety.” (12:99).

The same green movement was generated in the whole Arab World, especially in the Gulf States and in Libya. The United Arab Emirates, by the import of clay, trees, Asian manpower and Western technique, plus water-wells, greened vast areas of the Gulf shores. Lybia's big project of the great river aims at bringing the underground water, through underground pipelines, from the high Southern plateau to the low Northern shore. For tourist purposes, Kuwait imported clay from the Netherlands to green the Salmiya head, a salient land of the shore. Politically. the green color is also transformed to green national and ideological movement such as the " green march" in Morocco, liberating the Southern Sahara from Spanish domination, and the "green book" in Libya, laying the base of Arab Nationalism as Primitivism.

Necessities of life in Traditional Egypt were not that imposing. Before the revolution, the population of Egypt was almost twenty millions after being two millions since the beginning of the last century. There was a certain kind of self-sufficiency in food, with a huge surplus for export. The density of the population makes no problem. Large streets with trees on the parkways, private home gardens, wide parks with lakes and boats inside Cairo were major features in traditional urbanism (12).

(١٢) For more information on traditional Egypt, especially Cairo, see Stanley Lane-Poole, Cairo: Sketches of its History, Monuments and Social Life, Arno Press, New York, 1973; also, Desmond Stewart, Great Cairo: Mother of the World, American University Press, Cairo, 1981.

III - Greenery in Contemporary Egypt

However, in contemporary Egypt, realities are something else. The green area is about 4 per cent of the whole country where people live. The rest is yellow sandy desert. The river Nile, with the exception of the five oases in the Western desert, is almost the only source of water. There is no rainy season to green the land. The sandy soil makes even land reclamation and forestation extremely difficult and highly costly. Nature is very stingy in greenery, given the dry weather, the scarcity of rain and the sandy soil. Peoples in the desert, as historians may say, are gifted for prophethood, not for livelihood.

The poulation is now almost fifty million, increasing by one million every ten months! Traditional self-sufficiency is now a myth. Food surplus switched to food dependency and food export to food import. Egypt is now importing almost half of its food. The problem of Egypt, even since the Pharoahs, was famine, malnutrition and food scarcity, in case of natural disasters (lack of flow, cotton worms) or of incapacity of political power to preserve enough food stock (13).

Nowadays, greenery means something to eat rather than to enjoy, vegetables and fruits rather than roses and flowers, a necessity of life for survival rather than good looking scenery.

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(١٣) “The king (of Egypt) said: I do see (in vision) seven fat kines, whom seven lean ones devour, and seven green ears of corn and seven others withering” (12:43). "0 Joseph! (he said), 0 man of truth! Expound to us the dream of seven fat kines whom seven learn ones devour, and of seven green cars of corn and (seven) others withered " (12:46).

Greenery means agriculture rather than natural forests, city parks and house gardens [14]. If greenery in the First and Second Worlds is an aesthetic dimension in societies of abundance and welfare States, it is in the Third World a nutritive element, a sustenance for living creatures and human survival.

Urban development in the sandy desert is far from the urban Centres, and even without commuting facilities. Instead of building in the desert, creating new cities, the whole green area around Cairo is swallowed by new construction zones. The fertile natural clay, even scarce after the construction of the high dam, is used to make bricks in spite of several prohibiting laws.

The rural sector began to appear in the mass-culture as well as in mass-behavior, as synonymous to underdevelopment, backwardness and poverty. The urban sector, on the contrary, is identified with development, progress and wealth. This dichotomy between rural and urban sectors in Western sociology has been disseminated by Westernized scholars, has substantiated the popular image, and has increased the immigration from the rural to the urban sector.

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(١٤) "It is He who sendeth down rain from the skies. With it we produce vegetation of all kinds. From some we produce green (crops), out of which we produce grain, heaped up (at harvest) Out of the date-palm and its sheaths (orspathes) (come) clusters of dates hanging low and near. And (then there are) gardens of grapes and olives and pomegranates, each similar (in kind) yet different (in Variety). When they begin to bear fruit, feast your eyes with the fruit and the ripeness thereof." (6:99).

Actually, Greater Cairo has less than 1 per cent green areas for a daytime population of almost 12 millions, especially in the summer. The green areas around big cities are used for new housing projects, and even for factory construction. Even the few parks in Cairo and in big cities are neglected and abandoned. People run to food co-operatives even in holidays, not to public parks. Green parkways in the middle of the large avenues are used as playgrounds for boys forming soccer street teams. Green sideyards in smaller streets are used to raise domestic animals and birds in poor areas. The project of planting Mukattam hill around Cairo to prevent sandy wind from storming the capital is in shortage of water because of the weak pumping system. The same city infrastructure was serving a population which increased from in 80 years from 2 million to 10 million.

In big cities, pollution is not the result of industrialization, but comes from the lack of a coherent, efficient and modern system of garbage collection, the failure of drainage-systems, the lack of sanitary houses and maybe human and animal dirt. Sandy storms, dusty air and flying insects coming from desert winds make the problem even more acute. Cairo is one of the most polluted cities in the World, especially in air and noise pollution. The problem in Cairo is survival, not good living.

IV - The Challenge of the Future: a New Map of Egypt

There are huge efforts nowadays to reconstruct Cairo public services, including water supply, drainage, electricity, telephone, subway, highways and the creation of vast new urban areas and new cities. However, the challenge of the future is to

draw a new map of Egypt. The reconstruction of Cairo affords only a temporary pain relief. The call for a new capital similar to Brasilia, or at least transferring government offices outside the city center, is always heard. All such calls, even if implemented, offer only partial solutions. Egypt as a whole needs a radical change, not only in the infrastructure but also in the superstructure, namely drawing a new map of Egypt.

The old map of Egypt is vertically drawn, upward-downward, following the Nile and the Valley, with the population living in 4 per cent of the whole Land! Geophysics are only one factor in human creativity, added to other factors,individual, societal and cultural. The narrow valley, even after the extension of its borders right and left after the construction of the high dam, is limited by the vast Western and Eastern desert. In the old Valley of the Kings, horizontal as well as vertical expansion in agriculture is still limited, given the actual rate of population increase. As long as the Nile will be flowing from upper-Egypt to lower-Egypt, we will see political power, political decisions, moral values and the whole social system continue without radical change.

A new map of Egypt can be drawn as the counter-part of the old one, horizontally not vertically, by the extension of water ways Eastwards and Westwards, not only upwards and downwards, as with the old canals parallel to the main river. The major first component of this new map is to bind the five oases in the Western desert by a branch of the River Nile Westwards forming a new valley parallel to the old one, cutting the Western

desert in two and surrounding a major part of it between the old and the new valley, to be used for urban development. The second major component is to expand Eastwards by digging a new branch of the River under the Suez Canal for the irrigation of the Northern plateau of Sinai. This helps in settling Sinai Nomads and in conquering new urban areas. The third component is land reclamation around Lake Nasser in the South for cultivation and more horizontal agricultural expansion. Small canals from the lake in the deep Western and Eastern desert make the whole Southern part of the country completly green, a new Delta in the South, similar to the old one in the North. New farmers, new fishers, new traders would create new urban life in the less populated South. The fourth one is the great Kattara depression project in the Northern part of the Western desert, linked by an artificial canal to the Mediterranean sea, causing water falls generating electricity, creating new industries and new urban centers. If this new horizontal map of Egypt is added to the old vertical one, a new era in the history of the country surely begins.

These four components of the new map of Egypt are well known ideas. They need only to be implemented and transformed to a huge national project, like the high dam or the Suez Canal. A national project requires leadership, ideology and mass participation. Leadership in the Third World is still based on charisma. Mohammed Ali, who built modern Egypt, and Nasser, who continued the same project, are only some prototypes. The ideology comes from Islamic tradition and its vision of greenery. Mass-participation occurs once Islam as the major component in mass culture is reactivated as an ideology of development.

Since the masses are still traditional inspite of the so-called era of modernization and development, the implementation of traditional vision of greenery into the world, even if nature is reluctant to it, is another challenge. Past generations accepted the challenge, implemented the vision and constructed the "Arab house" and the "Islamic city", transforming the green vision to a green land. New generations can do the same, transforming the yellow color of the desert to the green one of vegetation. Man is subservient to Nature as well as Nature subservient to man.

A whole reconstruction of the mass-culture from the vertical axis to the horizontal one is a prerequisite. In Islamic Tradition, God and Land, Heavens and Earth are interrelated. A Theology of Land, an ideology of Earth would help in mass-mobilization, more than the traditional theology of Essence, Attributes and Acts. Mystical tradition as well, can play a big role in identifying Divinity with the whole world and in forming agrarian groups to labor the land. In classical philosophy, physics precedes metaphysics, contrary to the common belief in the absolute priority of metaphysics. In traditional Jurisprudence, the causality controlling human behavior is essentially material. That means the importance of the needs of the body as well as and even before the exigencies of the soul.

The cultural approach to the greening of the urban environment is the only efficient and the most durable way through which the people can accept the challenge of life necessities in order to cope with their cultural Worldviews. The end of the development era begins a new cultural era. The failure of

bureaucratic modernization paves the way to mass participation. Mass-culture is the nexus where Traditions and masses are intertwined. Therefore, the greenery appears as a pluralistic Worldview, aesthetic as well as nutritive. The greenery is a cultural movement in every society, linked to its status in development.

V - Summary

According to Islamic Tradition, greenery is one of the Divine Acts in Nature, through rain falling on the earth, transforming the yellow sand into green vegetation. Green is the color of life, which is also one of the Divine Attributes. In classical law, whoever greens a sandy land has the right to own it. In mystical tradition, green turban, green dress and green emblem are marks of prophethood and signs of holiness. Even Paradise, which symbolizes human hope in a better future, is almost a garden, with trees, shadows, fruits, waters.

Traditional Egypt, continued on the same line till modern revolutions, green flag, green areas around Cairo, national parks inside. After the revolutions, new green areas were added after the construction of the high dam, the new Valley, binding the five Oases in Western desert, the extension of the Delta Westwards and Eastwards, the expansion of the long valley of the Nile in width from both sides, the greening of the northern plateau in Sinai, the drying of Northern lakes inside the Delta. The same movement was generated in the whole Arab world, in the Arabian Peninsula, and with the great river in Libya to bring underground water from the south to the north.

However, in contemporary Egypt realities are something else. The green area is about 6 per cent of the country where people live. The rest is yellow sandy desert. The River Nile is the only source of water. Population increases by almost one million a year. Because of the scarcity of rain, natural forests are null. Nature was very stingy in greenery, given the dry weather, the scarcity of rain and the sandy soil. Peoples are gifted for prophethood, not for livelihood.

Greater Cairo has less than 1 per cent green areas for a population of 12 millions. The same is true for other big cities. The green areas around big cities are used for new housing projects and even for factory construction.

Even the few parks in Cairo and in big cities alike are neglected and abandoned. The fertile natural clay is used to make bricks in spite of several prohibiting laws. Nowadays, greenery means something to eat rather than to enjoy, a necessity of life for survival, rather than good looking scenery. Urban development in the sandy desert is far from the urban centres, and even without commuting facilities. Green ways in the middle of the streets are used as playgrounds by thousands of boys, or to raise domestic animals and birds in poor areas. Egypt is importing 30 per cent of its food. Greenery means agriculture rather than natural forests, city parks and house gardens.

In big cities, pollution is not the result of industrialization, but comes from lack of a coherent, efficient and modern system of garbage collection, the failure of drainage systems the lack of sanitary houses and maybe human and animal dirt. Sandy

storms, dusty air and flying insects coming out of nature make the problem even more acute. Concepts like "Mother Nature" or “good nature" may be related to green areas such as Europe.

However, the challenge for man on earth is to implement the traditional vision of greenery into his world, even if nature is reluctant. The greatness of man is to transform the yellow color of earth into the green one. Nature is subservient to man. That is why the cultural approach may be the only way through which people can accept the challenge of life necessities in order to cope with their cultural worldviews.

NATURE, CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY (*)

An Islamic Approach

In the presence of these three categories, it is clear that culture is a mediation between nature and technology. Culture is the concept of nature and technology is the implementation of this concept. Culture originates in nature and returns back to it through technology.

This sketchy paper does not offer a review of Islamic sciences in the European middle ages, nor does it present a historical survey. It shows only a possible model of a tripartite relation between nature, culture and technology. It persuades and suggests rather than giving information. A thoughtful intellectual exercise would be more useful than historical data.

A - Nature as Motivation

1 - Nature is the creation of God. It is the work of God and his achievement. Consequently, it is a sign of his presence and a proof of his existence. If creation is a movement from God to man, recognition is a counter-movement from man to God. Natural theology is a middle science between physics and metaphysics.

2 - Since nature is the work of God, man pays it full respect. He owes God thanks and blessings for living in God's work. Therefore, Nature is a value, a positive value. It is not evil.

(*) Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research; Committee for Future Oriented Research, Natural Resources in a cultural perspective, Stockholm, 1985.

Life in nature is not punishment. Man did not fall. God, nature and man are in the domain of the pure.

3 - Man is not only living in nature, the work of God, but he is His steward or vice-gerent on earth. His message is to fulfil God's imperatives. Man’s endeavor is a kind of worship. His work in nature, his planning, his investment, his use of nature is a mode in adoration of God. The creation of nature therefore is not a simple creed, but a motivation in man towards nature.

4 - Nature has its laws. Man by his reason can discover them (rationality) and use them to control natural phenomena (Flexibility), by his free will. Learning is a Divine imperative. Experimentation is a method. Causality is inherent in nature. Human subservience of nature makes man capable of applying natural laws for human benefits.

5 - Nature is alive, like the living God. Grass, fruits, vegetables, trees, birds, animals, fish, briefly all living phenomena are given from the living God to the living man. Therefore, destruction of nature is a mischief on earth. Man deals with nature as spirit. Naturwissenschaft and Geisteswissenschaft are from the same order. Life is characterized as birth, development, emergence and accomplishment (evolution).

6 - Nature is not only useful and beneficial, but it is also good and beautiful. The utility of Nature for man is equal to its bounty and beauty from God. Nature becomes cruel if man ignores its laws and becomes incapable of applying them. Nature is merciful, generous and helpful. The aesthetic dimension of nature is a part of its epistemological and ontological ones.

7 – Man’s life in nature is only a transitional one. His work is a preparation for a permanent and eternal life. This attitude towards life would lead to less consumption, less competition, less anxiety for profit, and less anguish or depression. The material world has its Grund in the spiritual world.

B - Culture as Weltanschauung

Nature is not only a motivation in man, but it passes through concepts to become a Weltanschauung, namely a culture. The role of culture is to transform the belief-system from nature as motivation in man to concepts forming a rational view of the world.

1 - The concept of unity appears to be the corner-stone of his world view. God being one, the whole world is one, humanity is one, man is one, society is one. This unity excludes any disparity or dismantling in phenomena, namely, destruction of the green land for construction, cutting trees, pollution of shores by oil draining.

2 - This concept was at the very base of the classical sciences such as psycho-physics, the study of the psyché through the soma, of organic chemistry, of a holistic view in medicine based on the organic function, of physical chemistry based on the transformation of elements. Even in social sciences, the study of God, of man and of nature is made in one global science. Complementary in being prevails over exclusiveness.

3 - This unity in concept does not lead to confusion of levels. A distinction of levels is preserved by several theories like procession, scale of values, and the degrees of being. The

foundation of psycho-physics does not prevent the foundation of pure psychology or of psycho-analytics.

4- The concept of infinity was behind the discovery of infinitesimal calculus. In Art, arabesque is composed of geometrical lines multiplied from all sides to the infinite. The discovery of analytical geometry, the transformation of geometry to algebra, required a high degree of abstraction (Rationality).

5- Both the concepts of unity and infinity are indeed an expression of the Transcendence, looking always forward, going beyond, trying always further, never stopping on a formula or fixing on an image. Transcendence requires freedom of thought, solvitur in excelsis, conceiving the universe from the summit.

6 - Thus rational concepts appeared in the classical sciences. Physics was rational physics, based on concepts of determinism, contingency, substance, accident, quality and quantity. Metaphysics and physics were almost the same science, with the similar categories. Music was based on melodies, not only as physical vibration, but as movements of the soul. Electronic music could not have been conceived. Pharmacology was made from natural elements, namely plants, not from chemicals.

7 – The human sciences also expressed these rational concepts. Geography was based essentially on the presence of man in nature and on land as the center of the universe. History was conceived as an accumulation of human experiences of successive nations. Language as utterance was at the very center of the cosmos.

C - Technology as Tools and Means

Technology is the implementation of the concept in nature. It is not technology per se, as automation or "Robotization," but as mediation between culture and nature.

1 - Technology is a human heritage. It can be transferred from one society to another, regardless of its cultural foundation. Hindu, Persian and Greek technology was transferred in medieval Islam and then was renewed and developed. Technical wisdom has no nation. Every nation invents for mutual enrichment. Indigenous creativity is the source of universal technology (convergence).

2 - Because of the importance of time for prayer, fasting and pilgrimage, the clock industry was invented. Factors of size and space were not at stake, but rather factors of need and milieu (Sandwatch).

3 - Because of notions of time, light, and movement, astronomy was central in classical sciences. Optics were discovered because God was defined as light, and light was a sign of time. The atomic theory was also motivated by a Qur'anic undivided atom as the reason for creation ex nihilo.

4 - Irrigation systems were invented by Nomads, motivated by images of green land and water in the Qur'an. The image of Paradise as the garden of Eden was behind the transformation of sandy land to fertile land. The water cycle and the relative crop system were behind the conception of the water wheel.

5 - In construction, natural milieu and the environment were taken as models. The arcades are images of palm trees. The house was built around a green open area with water fountains. Main corners were oriented towards the sun and the wind. The mosque was built, a dome like a sky, with a minaret an like arrow, towards the heavens.

6 - In urbanism, the classical Arab city was conceived as intersecting circles or curves around a center, the big mosque, the market and the bookshops. Curving lanes were useful to prevent heat and to facilitate defense. The palace, the castle, the towers and the walls were all in and out the city, for peace and war. Public baths were built with their chimneys along with the wall, to push the smoke outside the town.

7 - Technology was also based on measurements. The concept of measure is central in creation. Everything has its own proportion. All kinds of scales of measurements were invented to focus on the right proportion. The implementation of concepts in nature is not only qualitative but also quantitative.

In conclusion, there is a necessary connection between nature, science and technology. Nature is Divine and God is pure. Pollution is against the Divinity of nature and the purity of God. Culture is a sublimation of nature and provides a Weltanschauung through the transformation of the belief-system into concepts. Technology is founded from above, controlled by reason and preserved from its fall into mere automation.

D - Summary

The concept of nature in every culture is at the very basis of science and technology. In Medieval Islam, the invention of infinitesimal calculus and analytical geometry, the transformation of geometry to algebra in mathematics (Khauarasmi Tusi), or even the arabesque in art, all this was related to the concept of infinity at the heart of culture, due to the Tawhid as belief-system. The clock industry and astronomy were due to the analysis of time as the "milieu" of actions and events as prescribed in the Qur'an. The discovery of optics is related to the notion of light as exposed by the mystics, interpreting Qur'anic verses as spiritual experiences. Atomic theory was a development of one of the proofs of the existence of God, based on the division of the monads, till we arrive to the undivided monad. Other examples can be given from mechanics, dynamics or physics.

Classification of the sciences prevented any confusion between formal, natural and human sciences. However psycho-physics were based on the analysis of the psyche through the soma. Biology was conceived on a holistic view of organ functions. The theory of four elements did not prevent the perception of the temper as a whole. Pharmacology dealt essentially with natural elements from botany, not physics. Technology was also an expression of cultural concepts. The dome and the minaret of the mosque are images of the sky and of the spiritual journey to the heavens. The arcades are images of palm trees. Invention of irrigation systems was motivated by the Qur'anic image of the Green land. Science and technology were indeed expressions of a cultural Weltanschauung.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SPIRITUAL VALUES POSSIBLE MODELS AND HISTORICAL OPTIONS (*)

1 - Introduction: Definition of Terms

1-1 Science, Technology, and Spiritual Values, as individual or separate objects, can be understood and defined differently according to different schools of thought. The conjunction "and" is very ambiguous and hard to understand. The logic of substance (old logic) is much easier than “logic of relation” (modern logic). However, the substance of the object is a determining factor of its relations. The different types of science, technology and spiritual values would determine the different models of their relations and consequently the different historical options.

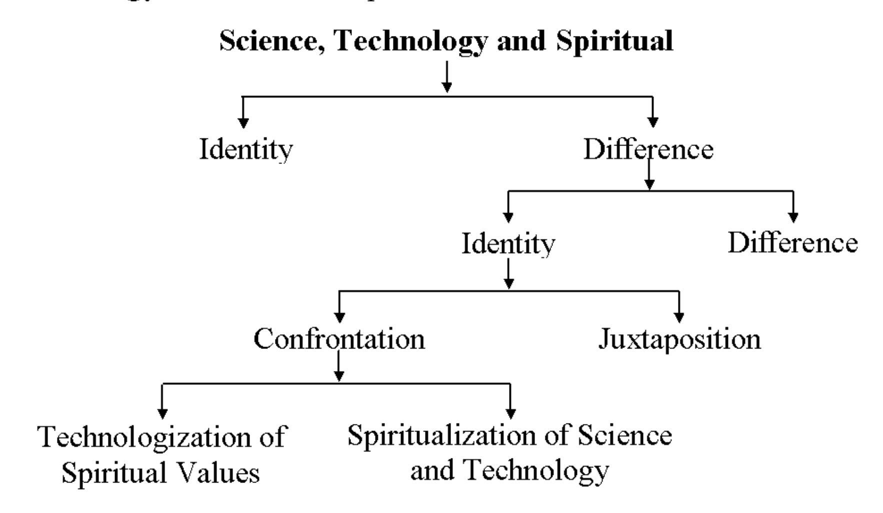
1-2 Apparently, science, technology and spiritual values are three terms referring to three different objects. However, in reality, they are only two, Science/Technology and Spiritual Values. Science is the foundation of Technology, and Technology is the implementation of Science. Both are based on the same premises and express more or less the same worldview. That is why Science and Technology are used together. Spiritual values are already a particular adjective and a general substantive in order to specify the type of value, namely the spiritual as distinct from the ethical or the societal. However, the distance between the adjective “spiritual” and the substantive “value” is minimal, like the distance between Science and Technology.

2. Possible Models

2-1 A priori and according to the logic of identity and difference, Science/Technology and Spiritual Values can be

(*) International Symposium, Sophia University, United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan, 1987.

different or can be the same. In case of difference, there are two possibilities, confrontation or juxtaposition. In case of confrontation, there are also two outcomes, the Technologization of Spiritual Values, or the Spiritualization of Science and Technology. Therefore, all possible models are:



2-2 In the case difference, Science/Technology is understood as the extension of a given Science/Technology in a special time and space, embedded in contextual values of the Zeitgeist. It hides its embedded values under the cover of Universalism in order to expand, absorb and control the whole world. In this case, Science/Technology is the function of a special reason, the finite reason based on individual or group interests.

2-3 Science/Technology, in this case, is conceived as perception of the so-called neutral subject of the so-called objective reality. Once the subject as well as the object are denuded of value, the subject will be impulsive, partial and interested, following its own inclinations and passions. The subject loses its balance, its focus and its universal scope. Similarly, once the object is also denuded of value, it becomes

purely matter. In Bergsonian terms, the mechanical, quantifying and scientific intelligence is in this case adequate to the material, quantifiable and scientific object.

2-4 In the case of difference, Spiritual Values are considered as a dogma which goes beyond the limits of human reason, a mystery refractory to human understanding, a historical fact unique and unrepetitive. In this case, the validity of faith is either in the internal and complete acceptance of its content, by a decision of the Will, or in the external and historical verification of its content as material facts. Universalism de Jure is sacrificed for the Particularism de Facto. The Spirit yields to mentality. The Idea is reduced to the image. The metaphoric is understood as literal. Consequently, spiritual values come into conflict with ethical, political, societal and historical realities, without being able to absorb them. They form an independent order separate from other orders and even contrary to them.

2-5 In case of juxtaposition, science and technology on the one hand, and spiritual values on the other hand, coexist side by side in harmony, according to a rigorous division of work. Each of the two has its own realm, its own method and its own purpose. Science and Technology is the realm of this material world, for production, consumption and economic expansion. It uses abstract reason, strengthened by calculators and the last generation of computers. Its purpose is to guarantee the maximum comfort and the highest standard of living. Spiritual values have another realm, that of personal felicity and internal in happiness, the domain of private life, with intimate family and social face-to-face relations. The method used is the imitation of the past, the continuation of the traditions and the practice of festivities. Spiritual values are more or less like social customs, popular art and folklore. They have the main function of the

embellishment of business life by returning to the traditional self. Since the gap between Science/Technology and festivities is so big, another value-system intervenes, coming out of the very depth of the National Culture. This ethical value system appears in individual and social behavior and functions in the business-society, such as loyalty, dedication, solidarity, sacrifice, self-denial, commitment and vocation.

2-6 In case of juxtaposition, the concept of Science and Technology is almost the same as in the case of confrontation. The theoretical assumptions in both cases are the same. Both the knowing Subject and the Knowable object are denuded of values. However, instead of conflict of interest between both, competing for the same realm, another peaceful co-existence has been proposed, a division of work, a certain modus vivendi, in a temper of harmony and conformity. The imitation of the other arrives to the highest degree of excellency and then becomes a creative imitation in the form of production without questioning.

The theoretical assumptions of the first imitation. Science and Technology are only a practical device for competition to win the race of production. Spiritual values, although having an independent source in the National Culture, share the same features of the spiritual values in the confrontation model. In both cases, they are external, value-added and formal. Sometimes these are used as pure camouflage for another inherent value system, more operative and more efficient, such as "Romanism" behind Christianity, and Japanese Ethics behind Japanese religions and festivals.

2-7 In case of confrontation, the desire for unity of the realm, of the method and of the purpose is a legitimate one. However, the conflict of interest between science and

technology, on one hand, and spiritual values on the other hand, prevents the actualization of such desire. The confrontation ends, whether by the victory of spiritual values over science and technology, as in Mysticism and Theosophy, or vice versa, by the victory of science and technology over spiritual values, which leads to the accusation of atheism and materialism. In the case of juxtaposition, although a peaceful solution exists between science and technology on one hand and spiritual vales on the other hand, a double personality is created in man and in society between two modes of intellectual and social life, the scientist in public and the mythical in private, in conformity with a double personality in the National character between shyness on the surface and violence in the depths.

2-8 In case of identity, both science and technology, on one hand, and spiritual values, on the other hand, are stemming from the same order, belonging to the same discipline, and sharing the same vision of man and nature, society and history. The knowing subject is living in one realm, having one vision, practicing one method, and pursuing one goal. He has his intuition, his reason and his senses as means of knowledge. The object for him is both a "fact-value," when he is dealing with Nature, and a "value-norm," when he is dealing with man. Revelation, Reason and Nature are completely identical, belonging to the same order and singing the same discipline. Since Spiritual Values are usually stemming out of Revelation, Inspiration or Internal Enlightenment, since science as a coherent theory of Nature is the function of reason, and since Technology is the most appropriate and efficient means to apply natural laws for human benefit, the identity of spiritual values, Science and Technology stems from a previous identity between Revelation, Reason and Nature.

2-9 In the case of identity, Science/Technology is understood, first formally as pure mathematics, beyond time and space, a dictum

of pure Reason, and can be generalized everywhere, understood by all scientists and adopted by all societies, etc. Therefore, Science/Technology is universal. Second, it is also experimental, based on laboratory controlled experiments or nation-wide observations, and can also be generalized on the assumption of the conformity of natural laws. In this case, Science/Technology is also Universal. Third, it does not shift paradigms from one historical period to another, according to different Worldviews. Science/ Technology is only a human approximation, with a margin of probability, to understand nature in a coherent way for the purpose of accommodation and adjustment. In this case, Science/ Technology is a Universal Probability. The change of scope is not due to the change of Worldview, but to the passage to different depths in the level of analysis. Fourth, Science/Technology is a human discovery of the order of creation, namely finality, Nature for man and Man for Transcendence.

2-10 In case of identity, spiritual values form a Universal Code of Ethics based on the unity of Revelation, the Universal Reason, and the Conformity of Nature. In spite of the different phases of the same Abrahamic Revelation, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the essence of Revelation is the same, the affiliation to a Universal Principle, manifesting itself in the realization of the Good Deed. Even Non-Abrahamic religions share the same essence in order to realize the maximum felicity for man on Earth. This Universal Principle is the Dictum of Pure Reason, serving as a norm of behavior for Practical Reason. Even if Man's affiliation to a special revelation is observed by images, concepts and rituals, the Dictum of the Universal Reason can rescue the human being from his spatio-temporal limitations. Even if Human Reason yields to historical particularism and to the human condition, the conformity of Nature can step in as a

last and final resort. Human beings are human beings everywhere. They share the same common Nature, even if they diverge in Cult and in Reasoning [1].

3 - Historical Options

3-1 These three models of confrontation, juxtaposition and identity are not hypothetical cases, but they are real options in history. Reason is verified in history, and history is the verification of reason. The first model of confrontation existed in the European Experience, before Modern Times, and hereafter in the relation between Science/Technology and the Judeo-Christian Tradition. It is in Europe that confrontation between Science and Religion occurred. Schematically speaking, the outcome of this confrontation was the victory of Religion over Science, before Modern Times, and the victory of Science over Religion thereafter. The examples of Galileo, Giordano Bruno, and Darwin are notorious. The second model of juxtaposition occurred, and continues, in Japan, where Western Science and Technology are juxtaposed side by side with traditional value systems and festivities in a harmonious division of work. Each has its own realm, contrary to the common understanding of the Japanese Experience of Modernization. The third model of identity existed in the Muslim World in its Classical Era and in Ancient Egypt, India and China, where Science/Technology came out of Religion.

3-2 In the European Experience, the reason for confrontation between Science/Technology and Spiritual Values was the type of belief-system, going beyond the limits of human reason to the super-rational and sometimes to the irrational, as well as going beyond the realm of Nature to the super-natural or

(١) Hassan Hanafi, Global Ethics and Human Solidarity: An Islamic Approach, Tokyo, 13-18 April 1987.

even to the anti-natural. Once a belief-system becomes a set of dogmas conceived as mysteries going beyond human understanding, human reason prefers its own coherence, based on the logic of consequence. Once the scriptures are believed to be authentic historical documents, and later on the contrary is discovered, science takes over religion, as after the birth of Biblical Criticism. Once a dogma is seen as contrary to human nature, judging it as evil, and offering man a salvation outside himself, the innocence of human nature and its goodness, as well as the responsibility and the freedom of man, may react against this. Once the religious institution monopolizes the formulation of the creed and makes these human approximations infallible, once it takes one philosophical system, namely that of Aristotle, as the eternal, permanent and absolute truth and tries to interpreter its humanly formulated creed using this sole philosophical system, fixing twice the word of God in the word of man, first through the religious institution and second through the authority of Aristotle. Once all this happens, a confrontation between science/technology and spiritual values surely occurs. Once the doctrine of election is believed in as a spiritual value, a special unilateral, unconditional and material covenant, between God and a special people, the universal, reciprocal, contractual and spiritual covenant between God and Man will react. Once religion is used and manipulated defending the interests of the landlords and of the upper classes, the social gospel will surely appear. Once, religion is used as a tool of oppression by the State and the Army, the theology of liberation will surely emerge for the peasants and the workers, via the revolutionary priests and the church left. These are natural laws of action and reaction.

3-3 Because of the centrality of Europe in Modern Times and the expansion of the European experience outside its

geographic boundaries, and given the several victories of modern Science and Technology in Europe and its transfer outside, the European experience became dominant and overwhelming as the most spectacular experience and consequently the prevailing model, that of confrontation, over the two other models. The dominance of the European experience was so great that it became almost the only one to be remembered, imitated or reacted against. It became almost the only system of reference, the only conceptual framework for any analysis of the relation between Science/Technology and Spiritual Values. The European Experience became not only a model between several possible models, but a prototype and even a monotype. The factual became a norm and the particular became a Universal.

3-4 In the Japanese Experience, the harmonious coexistence between Science/Technology and Spiritual Values, seen as traditions, also became in recent decades so spectacular that it began to compete with the European Experience representing the model of confrontation. Many countries of the Third World, representing the ancient civilizations, began to get rid of the European experience, at least as a wishful thought, after seeing its harmful results for the levels of both Science/Technology and Spiritual Values, substituting for it, at least as a hope, the Japanese experience. Wasn't Japan able to maintain simultaneously Science/Technology and Spiritual Values, namely traditions and cultural identity as customs and manners?

3-5 However, the main underlying factor in the Japanese experience is neither the imitated Western Science and Technology nor the external traditions and festivities, but the inherent value-system stemming out of the Japanese National Culture such as loyalty, dedication, solidarity, sacrifice, heroism, self-denial, commitment, work, vocation. The new functioning of these values in Corporations was evidently highly successful.

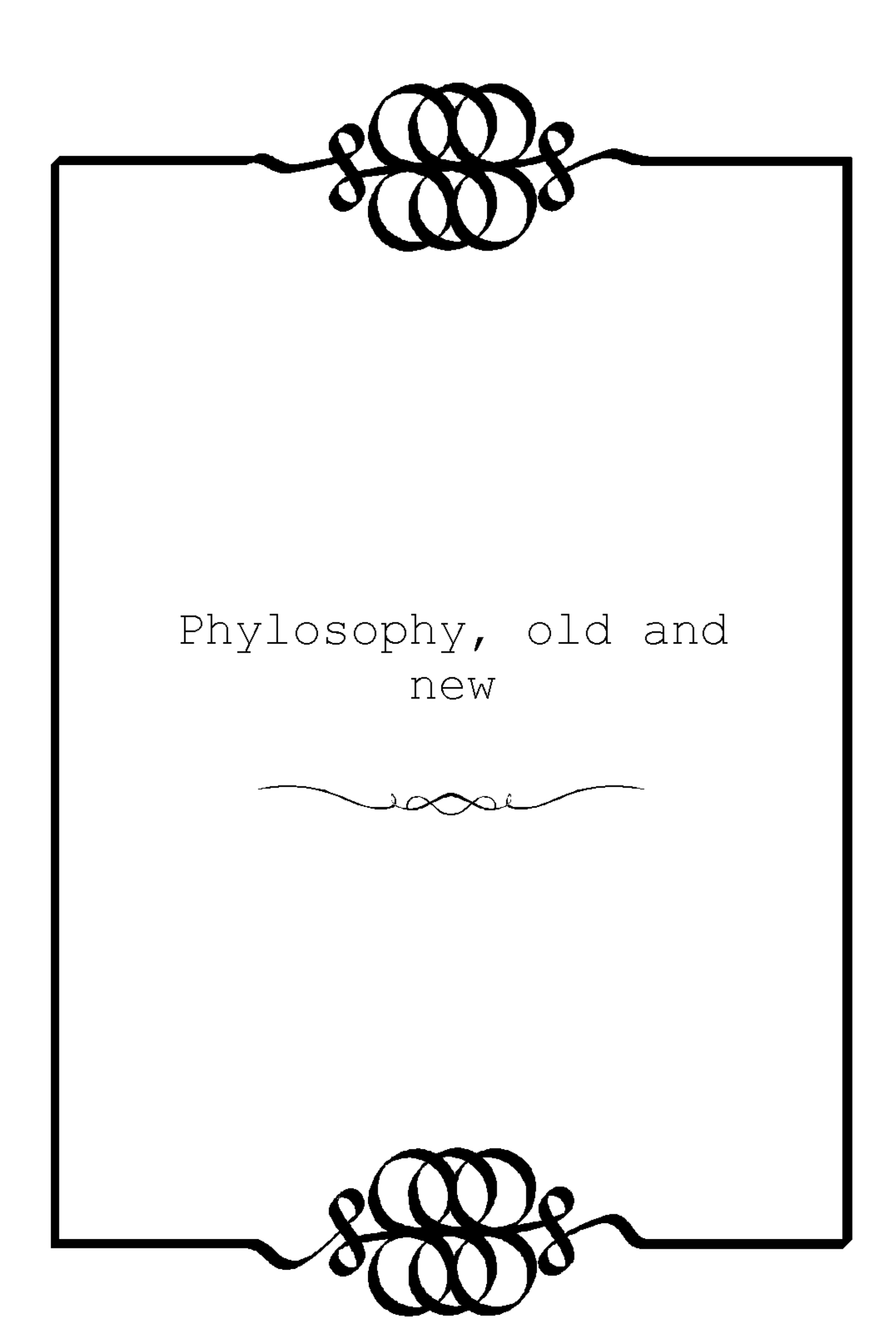
The challenge is how far such a value-system is universally applicable. Is it a particular value-system, related to a special people, or a Universal Code of Ethics for all mankind? Can the self perceive the other as similar and even identical to the self, or is the other different and even the stranger? Since the ideas of the enlightenment, such as man, nature, freedom, social justice, progress, were limited in practice to the geographic boundaries of Europe, and consequently lost their universalism, the value-system in Japan may also be limited to its ethnic boundaries, and consequently may lack universal application.

3-6 In Ancient Egypt, India, China and in the Muslim world in the classical period, science and technology came out of religion. In Ancient Egypt, the immortality of the soul was behind the birth of chemistry for mummification and of Architecture for the construction of the Pyramids. In India, logic and arithmetic were related to the Hindu vision. In China, medicine and artcraft were also linked to Confucianism. In the Muslim World, algebra and infinitesimal calculus and even the Arabesque as a form of art were invented out of motivation by the Transcendence as Infinity. Medicine, chemistry, biology, botany and other experimental sciences were founded on the concept of Nature as creation. It has permanent laws as signs of Providence, to be discovered by human reason and applied for human benefit.

3-7 The transmission of "Oriental" science and technology, especially the transmission of Islamic science and technology from the East to the West, was at the very birth of Modern Western Sciences. The model of identity according to which Islamic sciences were built was able to rescue the model of confrontation in its first alternative, the victory of spiritual value as dogmas over science and technology during the Medieval period. New functions of Reason and new concepts of Nature were carried out through the process of translation. However,

adopting the transmitted "New Sciences" without their theoretical foundations was only taking the outcome without the origin, the fruit without the roots, the water without the source. It helped temporarily in the progress of science and in solving its crisis in one period of time. Once the outcome was consumed, the crisis emerged again. A permanent solution for the perpetual crises in Western sciences is conditioned by the change of the theoretical foundations of Western science. The old transmission of Islamic Science to the West through translations, to give an alternative model of identity between science/technology and spiritual values, was workable. However, the actual transfer of knowledge and terminology from the West to the Muslim World is questionable, since it presents the Western model of confrontation inside a culture belonging previously to the model of identity, consequently creating a duality between the old and the new, so as the new expands, the old retreats. Since the new is presenting itself as the only alternative to inherit the old, the old is reacting and antagonizing the new and defending its own legacy.

3-8 In conclusion, this typology is in no way apologetic, defending one model or criticizing another. It is purely axiomatic, giving a priori all possible models of relations between science/technology and spiritual values, based on the logic of identity and difference. It is also descriptive of the historical experiences of Nations and Cultures as a posteriori representative cases. Any modeling may appear schematic and general. However, simplicity and clarity are necessary for human options and decision making. If Global Modeling is an effort to synthesize all the models in one, science, technology and spiritual values are three horizons, indicating the presence of man between two realms, the real and the Ideal, the Sein and the Sein-Sollen. If Science affirms man as cognition, Technology links him to Nature, and spiritual values incite him to face Eternity.



Phylosophy, old and new

WORLD-VIEW OF ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

This paper describes the fundamental attitudes towards nature, land, and human existence which characterize Kur'anic teachings. Created by God of Heavens and Earth, Land is a substratum of life and resources for human welfare, subject to Divine Will and the fulfillment of human vocations through belief and right action. No land is the eternal or unequivocal possession of any group. The abuse or destruction of the land is due to pride and arrogance, which leads to violence, oppression, and the division of mankind between Greeks and Barbarians. Arab geography, while drawing on pre-Islamic sources and constantly adapting to new environments and challenges, was a unified science incorporating astronomy, geology, botany, metallurgy, ethnology, mathematics and metaphysics.

Travel accounts provided empirical foundations for mathematical, commercial, economic and maritime geography. The Portolan charts and other maps provided guides for Spanish and Portuguese sailors and the "geographical discoveries" of European explorers.

1 - Kur'anic Worldview

The term Ard (Land) is repeated in the Kur'an 462 times, 454 times as substantive and only 8 times connected with possessive pronouns. This simple enumeration means that land is not an object of possession. Land is there, in the category of Being, not of Having. Land is Earth, the whole land. Of the 8 times, the only occurrence with the personal singular pronoun "My Land" is relative to God. God is the only Owner of the land.

This eminent ownership is not only a Divine right or a theological assumption, but a real description of human destiny. Man is born on Earth and dies on Earth. He comes with nothing and leaves with nothing. He owns only his deeds, good or bad, and he is accountable for them. God is the only true heir of land. His inheritance is a natural consequence of his possession.

Land is created. It exists in time, which transcends temporal human existence. Everything on land is subject to Divine Will. Land is obedient to God and worships Him. It is full of signs, leading to Him, the First Cause. For human life, land's submission to God is a sign that nothing on earth, including man himself, is refractory to Divine Will. Earth will not remain forever. It will disappear completely at the end of time. There will be trembling, shaking and quaking, one its (Zweck)purpose and end is accomplished. The end of Earth is not final, since it resurrects. Being is more hopeful than nothingness.

Land is green (Soil). It is the substratum of life, plants, animals, birds and humans. Land is green for the welfare of mankind. Green color is the image of fertility, goodness, beauty and production. Water falls and transforms yellow land to green land, the dry to wet. Life is a process, like that of water, down wards when water falls and upwards when plants grow. The mixture between water and earth is done according to a certain measure. More water or less water, sandy land or rocky land, do not by themselves produce any plant. Water comes downwards from rain or upwards from springs. Land's production is increased by human activity for survival and enjoyment.

Nourishment is given to all living creatures. Man is the master of the Universe. Everything has been created for him. However. he has no right to monopolize or to exploit. He dwells on earth without usurping its natural resources.

Land is not only green, but also a living and moving land, upon which living beings step (Ground). On earth there are animals of many kinds, and sometimes they are more conscious than humans. They can teach humans and humans can learn from them. There is also the flying land, land of birds, colorful and multiple in variety. Land is also human, a place of conflict and struggle, a Battlefield between right and wrong, justice and injustice. Revelation took the side of right, backing it with an ideology and solid means to realize it. Human praxis is the locus of such processes and orients nature towards corruption or perfection. Revelation is nothing else except the stature of nature, real and ideal at the same time. Right without might is humiliation, and might without right disappears. Victory means dwelling on spacious land and defeat means narrowing land from its limits.

If spacious land shrinks, an immigration occurs (Exile). Changing the place of the battlefield for a better one is a step towards success. Weakness is not a valid argument for retreat or acceptance of the status quo. Human action is more spacious than land itself.

Land is the carrier of human experiences (History). The whole land as a battlefield in history. History is a great field for the verification of human vocation and the fulfillment of God's Words on Earth. History is the laboratory of the Covenant ratified

between God and man. It reveals the results of the experience and even its laws. The highest law is the moral law. Those who do not practice the moral law and do righteousness will be destroyed.

Besides these two meanings, Earth and Land, man realizes his vocation on Earth as the vice-gerent of God. God is of Heavens and Earth. The connection of Heavens and Earth is made 217 times out of the 262. Even if land can be mentioned alone, 245 times, Heavens is never mentioned alone. That makes land an absolute Value like God. God does not exist in abstraction, but in the concrete. Geologically, Heavens and Earth were one entity and then split in two, like male and female. Heavens may be used in the plural, while Earth is always singular. Singularity is more valuable than plurality. Vice-gerancy is the oath of man to practice virtue, to be just and not to commit mischief on Earth. Only man by his life and his deeds can prove this worthiness of the message.

Earth is described as straight, long, spacious, wide, expansive, stretched like a carpet for humans to walk upon, to dwell and to strive. It is the field of human action for the fulfillment of man's vocation and the realization of the trust that God gave him. This vocation transforms man's weakness into strength. It is implemented individually, with many sacrifices. There is no other physical means to arrive to the Heavens than the ideal one, human action realizing human vocation. Truth is the foundation of Heavens and Earth. Earth is sensible to truth. It shrinks from falsehood.

Man's vocation is realized on Earth through belief and action, belief in the unity of God and doing good deeds. There is no land which has been eternally promised, unconditionally and unilaterally for any group of people. Land is inherited by pious people having good deeds, conditionally and multilaterally. To the extent man is good, he inherits the land. Good deeds build the land, while bad deeds destroy it. The heirs of the land are not a perennially assigned people, from the beginning of a promise till the end as an absolute right, a priori or in principia, but are non-assigned, temporary, possible, and may or may not happen, a posteriori, in concerto and purely conditional. There is no eternal inheritance or everlasting succession as a vested right from the fathers. Modesty is the first condition of success. Destruction of the land occurs through pride, arrogance and egoism. Arrogance leads to violence, oppression of others and the division of mankind between Greeks and Barbarians. The only difference between humans is that of good or bad deeds. History of prophecy shows the result of this human endeavor, the fulfillment of human vocation, the universal covenant on Earth [1].

2 - Motivations of Arab Geography

The implementation of this Kur'anic world-view in Arab geography was motivated by religious and practical orientation underlying its diverse branches, the astronomical, cosmological, descriptive, regional, historical, maritime, and others.

(١) Hanafi, Theology of Land: An Islamic Approach, in Religous Dialogue and Revolution, pp. 125-173, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop. Cairo. 1977.

First, the fixing of times for prayers from the dawn till the Sunset, of the beginning and the end of the lunar months for fasting and pilgrimage, helped in the creation of astro-geography. History of astronomy and of geography were virtually identical. The Kur'anic description of the stars, the moon and the sun, the orbits, the cycles, the mountains to stabilize Earth, the seven zones, the seas, and the plants all gave birth to cosmography.

Second, the Kur'anic description of mankind and the peoples on Earth gave birth to human geography, determining the relation between Man and Nature, between people and environment. The Kur'an calls for laboring the land, digging for water, building shelters in mountains and under tents, mounting the sea, crossing the desert and wandering everywhere looking for signs of human colonization of Earth. Kur'anic narratives on the history of prophecy directed geographers to look for the ancient sites of the prophets, miracles, tombs, palaces, battles, homes and tribes. Where did Adam descend from the Heavens?

Where did Noah build his Ark? Where did Moses cross the Red Sea? Kur'anic commentaries needed such archon-geography to substantiate the narratives and to verify them on the ground. Prophetic biographies also needed description of Arabia to follow the birth of Islam, the tribes which adopted tile new message, and the sites of the early battles. When historians began to collect the prophetic sayings, they needed to know the narrators and to verify their honesty and integrity, a matter which required full scale geo-historical research.

Third, following the high evaluation of certain places and cities in the Kur'anic world, descriptive geography was born to depict such holy sites as Mekka, Madina (Yathrib), Jerusalem, Egypt, and tribes such as those of Moses, Madian and others. A whole literature was written on the values of such sites and peoples in Egypt, Syria, Persia, Yemen and China.

Fourth, the expansion of Islam outside Arabia and the conquest of new lands pushed for another type of ethno-geography, describing the habits, customs, religions and languages of conquered peoples in Persia, India, central Asia, North Africa, Spain, France, Italy, Sicily, Turkey and Africa. Administrative geography was also created to help in building new governments and forming new states, e.g., founding of institutions, communications, and embassies.

Fifth, roads of commerce and new trade activities required knowledge about commodities and wares to be carried, imported or exported from one place to another, through land and sea. The collection of land taxes (Kharaj) required adequate knowledge about land, agriculture, population, and income, thereby laying the foundation of economic geography.

Sixth, travelers journeyed everywhere to write their witness in diaries and autobiographies, and to describe the diversity of Muslim communities. Borders did not exist between different regions. All were alike for adventurers. New Historiography began to appear, based on ethnology and geography.

Seventh, the desire for knowledge was an incentive highly appreciated in the Kor'an. It underpinned the quest for knowledge

and the collection of information on regions as far as China. Knowledge per se is a value irrespective of its practical use.

These new motivations were added to pre-Islamic Arab poetry, which described the Bedouin environment of desert, mountains, hills, sand, camels, horses, sky, stars, and winds. Pre-Islamic literature was full of stories and journeys, such as those of Ubada Ibn Al-Samit and Tamim Al-Dari. Bedouin life is linked to meteorology, waiting for rain and looking for grass.

Elements of ancient cultures were also one of the components of world views of Arab geography as they intertwined with the Kur'anic view and the needs of the environment. Babylonian, Persian, Indian, Jewish and Greek cosmographies were well-known. The division of the World into seven regions, the number of the orbits, the supra-lunar and sub-lunar worlds were also known. Ptolemy's Almajest was translated into Arabic. Ancient assumptions such as the habitation of the quarter of the cosmos, and mountain ranges stretching from East to West, were assimilated in a new world-view, more scientific and more human.

Although the term "Geography" has been used as a transliteration of the Greek word, there were other authentic Arab words such as “science of longitude and amplitude” and “Science of countries wonders”. Geography is derived from its different functions of fixing cities on the map by horizontal and vertical lines, following the history of the country, urban planning and political geography, communication and Mirabilia.

Arab geography is an integrative science, including astronomy, geology, botany, biology, zoology, metallurgy, meteorology, ethnology and history. Al-Makdisi's book includes sects, metaphysics, prophecies, the creation of the world, theology, heavens and earth as described in history of religions, the appearance of man on earth, history of the prophets, history of Persia, history of religions, history of the Arabs, geography, history of the prophet Mohammed, history of his companions, history of the Khalifes, history of Islamic learning (2). Geography is, then, the universal science, including everything. Every author depends on the previous one, copying his texts and integrating them into his own. Geography is a common cause, one cultural and impersonal project. Cartography is a part of Geography, with the holy land in the center. Both Muslims and Christians, Arabs, Persians and Turks contributed to Arab Geography. Direct observation was a major source. Mythology could be used, since geography was a part of literature. Myth is significant, not as a description of reality, but as an expression of world-view.

3 - Kinds of Arab Geography

Although Arab geography is bound by one major worldview, the unity of Heavens and Earth, different kinds of geographies emerged according to the changing needs of different historical circumstances.

A strogeography was based on mathematics. It was a part of astronomy, concentrating on mathematics. The seven regions of the world can be analysed through astronomical timetables. Ebb

(٢) Al-Makdisi's book was composed around 966 AD.

and tide can also be understood mathematically. Cosmography can be described according to orbits and cycles. Geology is a mathematical formula of the cosmos. Mountains, oceans, rivers, and forests are distributed according to mathematical equations [3].

Descriptive geography is sometimes called linguistic or literary geography, because it is based on travel literature. It includes human geography, ethnology, folklore, literature, social ethics and psychology. It is also an integral geography. Al-Warrak's Geography includes astronomy, ethnography, geology, zoology, and botany. Al-Nuweiri divides his geography into sections on Heavens and Earth, man, animal, plant and history. Al-Omari writes on land and people. Land includes the seven regions, the seas, the kiblah (prayer's direction) and the roads. Peoples include those of India, Syria, Egypt and North Africa, East and West. Al-Kalkashandi writes the history of diploma-tics, archives and all forms of writings as geographical documents [4].

Regional geography is based on the Areen theory, the region of the golden mean in weather. It divides the earth into seven regions according to the equator. Water, vegetation, animals are all distributed according to the characteristics of each region.

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(٣) Dates are of their deaths: Al-Khawarismi (847), Sihrab (945), Al-Kindi (874) Al-Batani (929), Ibn Yunis (990) Al-Zarkali (Arzachel) (1087), Al-Khazini (1115), Al-Tusi (1201), Al-Shirazi (1311), Ulugh Bek (1449), Other Arab Geographers concentrating on land water and vegetation are Al-Dinawaai (895), Ibn Shimayel (818), Al-Kalbi (820); sAl-Asma'i (831), Ibn al-Asbu' (845), Al-Asfahani (895), Al-Jahiz (869), Al-Sarakhsi (899), Ibn Al-Mahdi (839), Al-Zamakhshari (1114).

(٤) Some representatives of descriptive geography are: Al-Masudi (951), Al- Idrisi (1160), Al-Harrani (1332), Al-Warrak (1318), Al-Nuweiri (1279), Al-Omari (1349), Al-Kalkashandi (1412).

Human society and historical nations lived in the moderate region. People's temperaments are linked to their locations in different regions. Geography is the basis of ethics and character of different folk and peoples [5].

Historical geography is a combination of regional geography and political history. It becomes an independent discipline called (Al-Masalik Wa Al-Mamalik), literally "Roads and Kingdoms". It includes landscape phenomena plus cultural anthropology, ethnology, history of religions, literature like the book of Yakut Al-Hamawi. Earth is not only land but also inhabitants. Habitation includes all aspects of human creativity[6].

Since descriptive geography was a part of literature some of it concentrated on Mirabilia, peculiar things which attract the readers and invite them to think about the wonders of the world. These wonders can be natural phenomena like mountains, rivers, oceans, and animals, or urban phenomena such as mosques, palaces, gardens, cities, walls or literary works. They are the outcome of human genius, a combination of space and time, of nature and reason [7].

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(٥) Such as Al-Yakubi (903), Al-Balathuri, Al-Hamadini, Kudama Ibn Gafar (9O8), Al-Balkhi (901), Ibn Hawkal (1086), Al-Makdisi (1000), Al-Ghirnati (1286), Mohammed Ibn Yehia (1358), Ibn Battuta (1369), Ibn Al-Wardi (1457).

(٦) Most Arab geographers who wrote books under the title of Al-Masalik wa Al-Mamalik were Al-Sarakhsi (899), Ibn Khirdatabah (912), Al-Warrak (973), Al-Istakhri (950), Ibn Hawkal (969) Al-Jihani (956), Al-Muhalabi (996), Al-Udhri (1085) Al-Bakri (1094), Al-Idrisi (1192), Al-Omri (1349), Ibn Dukmak (1496).

(٧) Those who wrote Mirabilita are: Al-Ghirnati (1170), Al-Harawi (1215) Al-Kazwini (1283), Al-Dimashki (1327), Al-Harrani (after 1340).

Volks-geography was that kind of literature dealing with peoples' characteristics, good or bad, but mostly appreciative of the good. Every people has its own virtues. These virtues can be deduced from their scriptures or induced from experiences. The most praised people are Arabs and Persians. There is undoubtedly an undercurrent of provincialism in such literature [8]. Virtuous places are sometimes praised because of their holiness or historical value, such as Egypt, Syria or Higaz. During the Crusades the value of Palestine and Jerusalem were highly appreciated. Topography of the cites was part of its geography and glorious history [9].

Finally, maritime geography was the last kind invented, during the Ottoman Empire, simultaneously with European "geographic discoveries." Columbus journey to the New world was motivated by Arab maritime geography. Vasco de Gama used Arab cartography during his journey to Africa and was guided by Mali'm Cana. Marco Polo's journey was guided by Arab sailors. Porto-lands, Rahnamjats were used by European sailors. Oceanography was founded by Arab maritime geographers and continued by modern European geographers. The spirit of Muslim Spain was reincarnated in the new Portuguese and Spanish Christian geographers and Sailors [10].

(٨) Such as Ibn Khurdathabba (912) Al-Qurubi (1071), Ibn Khaldun (1405), Ibn Dakmak (1407), IbnaAl-Gian (1497), Al-Suyuti (1505) Ibn Iyyas (1525) Al Badri (1503).

(٩) Al-Azraqui (858), Al-fakihi (885), Ibn Taifur (893), Al-Bagdadi (1071), Al-Narhakhi (959), Ibn Al-Hakam (871), Al-Kindi (961), Al-Hamadini (961), Al-Rabi (after 1043), Al-Wasiti (after 1106), Ibn Al-Jawzi (1200). Ibn Asakir 1203, Amin Al-Din (after 1206), Ibn Al-Farkah (1371), Al-Tadmuri (1429), Al-Omri (1522).

(١٠) Some of the Arab maritime geographers are Al-Nahrawali (1582), Ibn Majid (after 1511), Al-Muhri (after 1511) Sidi Reis (after 1571), Perry Reis (1510).

PHENOMENOLOGY OF MEDICINE (*)

I - Introduction

The history of Islamic Medicine shows four stages. Each represents a special kind, especially regarding the method followed. The aim of this paper is to characterize each stage, to describe the positive and negative elements in each kind, and to pave the way for a new one which can combine the positive elements of all previous kinds without the negative ones.

The paper is written by a philosopher, not by a physician, using an ordinary language with no technical vocabulary, in order to pose some questions or identify aperies, inviting the audience to find answers, if there are any. The methodological difficulties in every stage are exposed neutrally, without taking any sides.

There are four stages in Islamic Medicine. The first is the Scriptural or Prophetic Medicine, based essentially on the sayings of the Prophet, supported by some Qur'anic verses. It continued for the first two centuries of the higra, till the translation of Greek medical texts. The second is the Experimental Medicine, carried on by the philosophers as a reaction to the first medicine. It continued in the following four centuries from Al-Kindi (D.252H) till Aver-roes (D 595 H.) The third is Spiritual Medicine, after the domination of mysticism in the following six centuries (7^{th} till 12^{th} century), just before the translation of Western medicine starting with the Mohammed Ali period. The fourth is Phenomenological medicine, which combines prophetic and experimental medicine for the purpose of health protection.

(*) Islamic Medicine Conference, Kuwait, 29 March-2 April 1982.

II - Scriptural (Prophetic) Medicine

Scriptural or prophetic medicine exists in the early collections of the Hadith, except Al-Tirmithi [1]. The book of medicine Kitab Al-Tibb is one chapter usually preceded by the book of drinks (Kitab Al-Ashribah) and the book of food (Kitab Al-At'imah). The book of medicine contains direct statements on medicine, diseases and therapies. The preceding two books contain the best manners in drinking and eating, in order to preserve one's health. In other chapters of prophetic collections, there are constant references to medicine, namely the uses of washing and praying for the body, the uses of fasting for the digestive system, the uses of (Jihad) for the general health. The description of mondane actions such as sexual intercourse prescribes some health directives. The dietary laws are justified by medical reasons. However, prophetic medicine as described in history of Islamic law (Fiqh) is derived only from the book of medicine in the strict sense [2]. Many of these Hadiths refer to a general rule mentioned already in the Qur'an. The Hadith is only a branch (far') of the rule (Asl). The Hadith gives particular cases while the Qur'an confines itself to the general principle [3]. There are three groups of difficulties in this medicine. The first is the authenticity of these Hadiths, since the only criteria of the

(١) The three collections of Bukari, Ibn Daoud and Ibn Maja contain a separate chapter on medicine, while collection of Muslim does not. Muslim refers to the sayings containing the prophetic medicine in the book of peace Kitab Al-Salam.

(٢) Ibn Al-Qayyim Al-Gauziya, The Prophetic Medicine. Al Tib Al-Nabawi 'Isa Al-Halabi, Cairo, A.

(٣) H. Hanafi, Les Méthodes d'Exégèse, essai sur la science des fondements de la compréhension, Ilm Usul Al-Fiqh. Cairo. 1965.

veracity of such medicine is the authenticity of such sayings. The early five collections contain fewer sayings than the later ones. Can we accept the earlier ones only and exclude the later ones? Even the earlier ones, can they all be accepted? The multilateral transmission (Tawatur) is conditioned by the confirmation of the Hadith to reason or to experience. A rational opposition to a prophetic saying would discredit it. Any contradiction between a saying and the experience, the habits, the natural course of events or senses testemonies would make this saying a doubtful one. What about the unilateral transmission (Ahad) which presents hypothetical sayings which may be historically authentic or not? If historical authenticity was the only criterion of veracity, why did experimental medicine take birth within Islamic culture and became a model of scientific medicine, transferred to the West and contributing in the progress of the science? What to be done with contradictory sayings when both are historically authentic, such as sayings supporting magic treatments and sayings against it? (4).

The second group of difficulties are related to a factual reason. Isn't it possible that these sayings reflect the state of medicine at that time? Nothing prevents more progress and then

(٤) A famous saying supports magic treatment by a comb and hair buried in a well, which make man inactive. The prophet took these two things and burned them and the man was cured. See Ibn Maja, II Hadith no 3544, ch. magic, p. 1173; Bukhari, VII, pp. 176-7 Muslim, II, 2, pp 14-5; Or the prohibition of eating dates having opthamia, Ibn Maja II, Hadith no 3443 p. 1139; or (Habbat Al-Baraka)(The Black Grain), containing all medicines and curing all sicknesses, Ibn Maja II, Hadith no 3447-9 p. 1141. See also invocation as cure from poison, Ibn Maja II Hadith no. 3517-9 pp. 1162-3.

more change in medical research. Since these sayings do not touch the Islamic Creed, they are classified as mundane. That means relative to the world and to human capacities like discovering and inventing war techniques. Isn't it possible that these sayings are personal opinions of the prophet, outside the revealed words, which can be true or false? Such opinions exist and were subjects of debates. Some of them were changed after discussions with the companions. In such cases, another criterion of veracity, like reason or experience, can be looked for. Isn't it possible that at least some of these sayings express the personal temper of the prophet, his private taste and his personal sensation? Surely the prophet is an example of good behavior, but in religious matters not necessarily in drinking honey and eating grilled meat. In such a case, individual differences in taste are permitted and honey would not be better in taste than pickles (5).

The third group of difficulties is related to the question of religion and science. Scriptural or prophetic medicine is considered as religious medicine. Muslim physicians try to prove that this type of medicine does not contradict modern scientific medicine and new medical discoveries. Faith and science are then compatible. Religion is a scientific discipline and science is a religious order. Most of the papers in all conferences on Islamic or

(٥) Many hadiths refer to honey preference, Ibn Maja II, Hadith no 3450-2, p. 142, Bukhari, VII p. 159 Muslim II. 2, p.21, p.25. Moist dates cure poisoning. Ibn Maja II, Hadith no 3455 p. 1143; Bukhari, VII p. 181, Muslim II. 2, p. 21; Abou Daoud, II p. 335 cuping Hijama is ordered by the prophet as treatment while cautery is prohibited, Ibn Maja II Hadith no. 3476-94 pp. 1151-6; Bukhari VII, p. 159, 174, Muslim II, 2, p. 21 Abou Daoud, II, p. 322-3.

Arab medicine fall in this category. That gives the Muslims satisfaction that Islam is a scientific religion, delivering them from any complex of inferiority vis à vis the West. Prophetic medicine is proved correct and accurate by modern Western medicine!

Indeed, this trend is very dangerous for both religion and science. It justifies religion by science and confirms science by religion. What to be done if science changes? Would religion change also, or justify itself according to the new scientific theories? If religion confirms science, wouldn't this transform science into a dogma, contrary to the spirit of science? Doesn't that bring us again to Galileo in front of the inquisition? The justification can be mistaken because of lack of knowledge in both religion and science. What to be done if science proves the falsity of some aspects of prophetic medicine? An obstruction of science or a negation of religion? What happens if believers would be satisfied only with prophetic medicine, scientific medicine being considered of no use? Even if these dangers are pushed away, the verification of prophetic medicine in modern scientific medicine would make from science the leading discipline and from religion a simple follower, a situation which a believer would not accept.

III – Experimental Medicine

Experimental medicine is the second stage of Islamic medicine, and at the same time presents a second type of medicine based on experience as a reaction to the first stage based on scriptures. The evidences are now internal to science, not external. The verification of medical laws is done through experience, not through the authenticity of the transmission of the scriptures.

This new approach to medicine was motivated internally by the desire of discovering the laws of nature for the benefit of man according to the Qur'anic directives. The Qur'an oriented the minds of the Muslims towards nature in order to subdue its laws. It was also motivated externally, after the translation of Greek medicine [6]. The Muslims absorbed it, criticized some of its theories and verified the rest in their own experiences [7]. This scientific medicine has been carried on by philosophers and translated into Hebrew and Latin to the West. It became the source of modern Western Medicine.

This experimental medicine took birth to fulfill the needs of Islamic society, namely wars. This practical need joined to the intellectual demand motivated Muslim scholars towards experimental medicine. Compared to the state of medicine in the classical World, Islamic medicine was far ahead regarding its Methods and discoveries. Medicine was the global science, including physiology, pharmacology and all related sciences. Clinical medicine was the final outcome of theoretical medicine. The main characteristic of Islamic medicine at this stage was this combination between theoretical and experimental medicine. The experience was not a simple sensual impression or disparate experiment but it was an organized experience based on the physical qualities of things. The major concepts on which Islamic medicine at this stage was based were organic functions (Humour, Temper, Mazaj) [8].

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(٦) H. Hanafi, Human Subservience to Nature: An Islamic Model. Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research. Sweden, 1982.

(٧) For example, Al-Razi critique of Hippo-crates and Galen.

(٨) M.K. Husein, A Short History of Arab Medicine and Pharmacology (Al-Mugiz fi Tarikh Al-Tibb Walsaydalah 'ind Al-Arab) p. 38, Arab League, Cairo.

Theoretical elements appear in the deductive method, which began by definitions or universal propositions, from which particular cases are deduced. Principles of medicine are not less important than experiences. Concepts such as substance, accident, form, matter, cause, energy, potentiality, and movement were used to describe the life of the organ [(9)].

The combination between these two aspects of science helped in formulating a special method with determined steps well defined by Al-Razi, such as definition, looking for causes, distinction between general and particular causes, separation between causes for isolating each cause, and treatment followed by recuperation [(10)].

Experimental medicine was not a mundane science. It was motivated by Islamic Weltanschauung, the independent laws of nature and the power of human reason and senses to discover them and to dominate them for the benefit of mankind. Experience is at the very basis of revelation. Every text is an experience in a situation. The Qur'an is a collection of human experiences and situations, models which can be repeated in all times and in all societies. The experience, namely life-situations or human actions, are the primary data of jurisprudence (Fiqh). The analysis of causes in order to pick out the real or effective cause in human action is the main endeavor of the jurist. In mysticism, experience is at the very basis of the "road to God." God appears in the mystical experience. Science, knowledge,

(٩) Ibid, p. 39-43.
(١٠) Ibid, p. 26.

visions, beatitudes. All happens in the experience. Even philosophers who were fond of the Nous founded their physiology and psychology on experience. Geography, history and other human sciences were also based on experience, no less than physics, chemistry and astronomy.

Experimental medicine, then, was not an imitation of the Greek medicine, but it followed its own model and exigency. The experience is one of the manifestation of Islamic world affirmation. It was not a reaction to theory or to a priories, as in the West, but a continuation and an extension of the theory. The transcendence of God, as the theory of theories, is seen in reality through natural and human experiences. This tension or complementarily between theory and experience characterized the Islamic view of the World and appeared in experimental medicine. The crisis in Western empiricism is due to the divorce between these two forms of the same outlook.

IV - Spiritual Medicine

Spiritual medicine followed experimental medicine in stage and kind. It began by a simple collection of experimental medicine, without any additions, discoveries or inventions. This happened in the second cycle of Islamic culture, from the 8^{th} century till the 14^{th} century, the period of stagnation and then of decline. Once the culture is unable to invent, it confines itself to memorizing the past and conserving the previous heritage in a written form, in dictionaries and encyclopedias. The experimental medicine continues by collectors, not by physicians, by Imams and Sheikhs, not by philosophers.

Experimental medicine yielded to spiritual medicine after the decline of Islamic culture and the domination of Ash'arism intermingled with mysticism. Rationalism and naturalism, carried on and defended by Mu'tazilism, ended. It is now so overwhelming, especially on the level of Volks religion, that experimental medicine is now transmitted from the West and not carried out from within, as a natural development of Islamic classical medicine. Given the importance of mosques and the weight of Imams and Sheikhs in popular districts between the lower classes, spiritual medicine became identical to prophetic medicine, with no reference at all to experimental or scientific medicine in ancient Islam or in the modern West, even between intellectuals and scientists, rediscovering their identity and rejecting modernism as an effect of Westernization. Spiritual medicine is highly appreciated as the only alternative to modern science! Habbat al-Barakah (the black grain) is still seen as the total medicine for all diseases (11).

Scriptural medicine emerged, infiltrating into spiritual medicine. The prophetic medicine returned when the experimental medicine stopped. Every chapter is supported by a prophetic saying, no more by a new experimental evidence. Scriptural medicine as contained in the prophetic sayings was greatly amplified (12). The authentic Hadiths became the germ of less

(١١) Hassan Hanafi, Islamic Fundamentalism: Its Historical Roots, Ideological and Political Explosions, Religion and Revolution in Egypt 1952-89 Vol.6 Fundamentalism, Madbouli. Cairo. 1989, (Arabic).

(١٢) Al-Mahdi Ben Ibrahim Al-Subeiri, Mukhtasar Kitab Al-Rahma fi Al-Tibb wa Al-hikma.74-83, Cairo (N.D.).

authentic ones building around. The strong desire and extra piety in the transmission of the Hadiths were no longer present in the early generations. The larger the experimental medicine appears, the smaller the prophetic medicine is and vice verse. Poems, proverbs, famous sayings, traditions of the Ancient wise men were all considered as authentic sources of scriptural medicine [13]. There was no distinction between the prophets, the poets, the magicians and the heroes. Greek physicians were greatly mentioned and glorified, without any critical approach, unlike experimental medicine in the early centuries. The number of sayings on the Talsams became greater than the number of sayings related to experimental medicine. The Talsams appeared in independent chapters at the end of all treatises on medicine, to make from the spiritual medicine the peak of religion and science.

Spiritual medicine later on was based essentially on magic and superstition. The very few Hadiths in prophetic medicine, regarding the Talsams, were amplified and became whole chapters. With ignorance and lack of experiences, the Talsams became the only treatments given to the patients and prescribed by the Imams and the Sheikhs in the mosques. They even became contrary to both prophetic and experimental medicine. A simple Qur'anic verse, written on a small piece of paper, folded several times, put in the pocket, or hung on the door, or put secretly between two stones, would cure the plague. Some other

(١٣) Tathkarat Al-Siwidi in medicine is an example of a larger experimental medicine with a smaller scriptural medicine, while Tashil Al-Manafi of Al-Azrak is the opposite example of a larger prophetic medicine with a smaller experimental medicine.

Talsams are conceived to injure and to cause pain to others, such as separating husband and wives or causing sexual impotence! The incapacity of doing was transformed into the capacity of magic. Ignorance in daily life switched to absolute knowledge and power of Talsams and spiritual forces [14].

V - Phenomenological Medicine

Phenomenological medicine had not yet appeared, neither as stage nor as kind. Spiritual medicine as the only heir of scriptural and prophetic medicine is still dominating. Classical experimental medicine was absorbed and contained in Western scientific medicine, and became a model of all medicines, to be transmitted from the West to the non-West. Spiritual medicine in every nation is still struggling for survival, as in China, India and Africa.

Phenomenological medicine is not something completely new. It is a combination of experimental and spiritual medicines

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(١٤) For example, a Talsam which cures from the plague is described as follows: In the beginning, “In the name of God" (Basmalah) is written, followed by Qur'anic verse, “Can he who was dead, to whom we gave life and a light whereby he can walk amongst men, be like him who is in the depths of darkness, from which he can never come out? Thus to those without faith, their own deeds seem pleasing” (6:122); Living, standing, judging, just, Saint; and the Qur'anic verse, "If there were a Qur’an with which mountains were moved, or the earth were cloven asunder, or the dead were made to speak, but truely, the command is with God in all things" (13:31), plus AAA M AAA H O or other letters GH KH D DH. R Z S SH S D or the follow square 0, Observer 0. Capable under the door. or other Qur'anic verses or 0, Creator O, Knowledgeable the word believer four times or living eight times...Tathkarat Al Qaliubi, p. 50, p. 81 Cairo (N.D). Tathkarat Daoud, III p. 176-82 Cairo 1282 H. Ibid, p.140-8.

on the level of human consciousness and its being in the world. It is a middle road between the analysis of the body and the salvation of the soul, with no fear of falling, not in the biology or the magic. It returns back to the Qur'an itself, trying to describe the Islamic way of life as a sane life. Islamic Weltanschauung would preserve human life from degeneration, material as well as moral.

Most of the diseases nowadays are modern. Many are described as diseases of the century. They are the natural consequences of industrial societies based on consumption.

The natural yielded to the artificial, namely the chemical. Modern problems like pollution, body rhythm, and anxieties are considered at the very base of many physical diseases such as ulcers. The importance of psychiatrists in modern societies especially in U.S.A., proves that depressions are related to loneliness, alienation and lack of orientation to a higher cause. Phenomenological medicine is a rediscovery of the natural health, the sane body in the sane mind.

The Transcendence of God, although it appears doctrinal or Metaphysical, is the cornerstone of phenomenological medicine.

The Transcendence means going always beyond, tending constantly towards the superior, super-seeding the trivial and the frivolous. Now and then, there will be no room for anxiety or nervous depression. The feeling that every thing is ephemeral, with no value and contingent, makes man more quiet and calm. This Transcendence is not a void concept or an empty idea. It had its manifestation in Nature. Nature appears innocent, beautiful and homogeneous. The love of the world, the desire to

live with things, is not only a life-style but a way of knowledge. The Transcendence makes man live the most universal life, without distinctions between humans regarding nations or classes. All sources of discord and rivalry are pushed away. Transcendence requires equality, humanity and freedom for all.

On the practical side, the Transcendence is transformed into human life as Teleology. Life contains an immanent purpose. Eschatology does not mean the end of life and its mutation into another life after death. It means the presence of Telos in human life and in the world. The sense of purpose would create in the heart of every man a loyalty to a cause and a higher cause. Once the distance between the ideal and the real is seen, the sense of duty comes in to fill the gap, to elevate the real to the ideal and to realize the ideal in the real. The Transcendence becomes an active category always looking forward. The Transcendence is a project, and man is the fulfiller of this project. This is the high meaning of what is known in Islam as man’s vice-gerancy of God on Earth. He carries the responsibility of the whole world. He is the only heir of the Universe.

This project is realized through man's action. It is not a mere necessary process which occurs by an external will, even if it were Divine, but a human free choice and an individual option. From this conjunction between the freedom of man and the necessity of history, events occur. All man's powers are unified, pouring into his own destiny. His reason, his feelings and his deeds make one unity. The unity of personality is another manifestation of the unity of God. This unification of human

powers is the prelude of the unification of the whole world. In such a way, no despair would generate in the human soul. Teleology and the sense of purpose give hope. The dependence on human action and the necessary law of history gives confidence and certitude of success. That is why suicide is a sin. Life is the place of action and the field of history. A complete fulfillment of man is realized, both material and moral [15]. No dissociation in life exists between the material and the spiritual, which causes a decline in human energy, on one side, and a hypocritical cover-up, on the other side. The explosion of modern art towards catharsis, or revolution of the youth, are both symptoms of the rejection of disparity, disloyalty and lack of purpose. Modern criticism of industrial societies and the Welfare State, as well as the complete collapse of the Western project, that is, more production for more consumption more happiness, are historical evidences that "Machines cannot create Gods" [16].

VI - Conclusion

If prophetic or scriptural medicine appeared to be untenable, and experimental medicine stopped, and the spiritual medicine was closer to magic and superstition, now phenomenological medicine may appear simplistic and religious. It is simplistic because it does not depend on experimental and modern scientific

(١٥) Hanafi, Hermeneutics as Axiomatics: An Islamic Model and "Religion and Revolution: An Islamic Model," in Religious Dialogue and Revolution" pp 1-20; pp. 200-212, Cairo, 1977; See also "Les Methodes d'Exégèse, essai sur la science des fundaments de la compréhension," Ilm Usul-fiqh pp. 418-28, Cairo, 1965.

(١٦) H. Berg-son, Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion, p. 338 PUF, Paris, 1954.

medicine and even it ignores it completely. However, in societies where modern scientific medicine reached its peak, the diseases of the century did not stop. In other "primitive" societies with no idea at all about modern scientific medicine, the primitive man lives healthy, strong and happy. Maybe a simple perception is more real than the super-computerized statistics on the life of the organs. The bios is oriented to the Telos!

Religion is not dogma or rituals but a way of life. The call of mystics for a simple and spiritual life was not only a religious duty but a biological conservation of the body. Mystics were even able to vanquish death and mortality. Their bodies after death are well preserved. Their senses in life worked strongly and even more strongly than the usual functions of seeing, smelling and hearing, from far distance. The powers of the soul are unlimited, while the powers of the body, with abstraction from the soul, are limited [(17)].

Phenomenological medicine is human medicine. It does not go so far, so away from simple and natural life. The "primitive" man or the natural man is a model of what religion calls spiritual man. Phenomenological medicine can be practiced by everyone, without distinctions between doctors and patients, both having consciousness and both living in the world.

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(١٧) Larche, “Le Sang Peut-il Vaincre la Mort?” Gallimard, Paris, 1957.

METHOD OF THEMATIC INTERPRETAION OF THE QUR'AN (*)

I - Limitations of Longitudinal Commentaries

Until now, Qur'anic interpretation has been done from Surat Al-Fatiha to Surat Al-Nas, Surat after Surat, verse following verse, from right to left, according to the written order of Surats, considered dictated by the prophet himself. The huge, voluminous classical commentaries of the Qur'an (Tabari, Ibn Kathir, Al-Zamakhshari), even modern ones like Al-Manar of Rashid Redha and Fi Zilal Al- Qur'an of Sayyed Qutb are done accordingly.

The advantages of such longitudinal interpretation are:

1- Providing the maximum information about the text historical, linguistic and social circumstances. It offers knowledge and makes consciousness more aware of the objective setting of the text. Classical commentaries of the historians give the old setting of the Text, while new commentaries of the reformers show the modern socio-political setting. The purpose of modern reformers is not only to understand the universal meaning but also to change contemporary reality.

2- It follows the traditional and scriptural order of the Qur'an, which may have its own wisdom, combining different genres literaires at the same time, via narrative, command, warning, promissing. The Qur'an is not only a book of

(*) International Symposium: The Qur'an as Text, Orientalisches Seminar, University of Bonn, 17-21 November, 1993.

knowledge, but also of persuasion and conviction. It does not address itself only to reason, but also to feeling. It does not only provide theory, but it motivates practice.

3- It helps to know the mentality of classical commentators, the sources of their knowledge, historical circumstances, and their level of understanding, since every commentary is a historical one. It helps also to know the spirit of the time, the state of the art and the historical period. This shows how revelation is conditioned by history in its understanding.

However, the disadvantages of such longitudinal commentaries are also great, for example:

1- Interrupting the same theme in several surates, so that other themes interrupt the integrality of the first theme, for instance wealth, power, people, reason, senses, individuality, social solidarity. Each theme is exposed partially, according to its context, and the whole theme is lost in its different parts.

2- Repeating the same theme several times without integration of meanings to build the global concept, for example, the status of woman, dispersed in the whole book. Each time, one aspect of the theme is discovered. Reality appears gradually, to be persuaded of, but is considered partially, and needs to be totalized in one core.

3- The absence of a structure for the theme, whether rational, real or both, a structure which permits the theme to stand on its own, having its validity and its verification from within, not from without, in Reason and in Nature, not only in the Scripture.

4- The absence of a coherent ideology or a global worldview linking partial aspects of the theme together in a global view, beginning from the parts to the whole. For instance, seeing, hearing, and feeling are parts of cognition; and doing, speaking, and interacting are other aspects of consciousness, different dimensions of human individuality.

5- Voluminous commentaries are exhaustive to read and even to purchase, to procure and to find a place for them, or even to hold the volume in the hand! The quantity is discouraging. It makes the reader perplexed in front of this pedantic knowledge. Sometimes the Qur’an appears more handy and simpler to understand.

6- It confuses information with knowledge. Information is something already known somewhere and communicated from one source to another, while knowledge is something new, an addition to previous information and knowledge. Sometimes commentaries provide information, while the Qur’an gives knowledge.

7- The information provided by longitudinal commentaries is separate from the needs of the soul and of society in the present. The reader does not identify with the reading. The reading is cold, un-useful and obsolete information, while the reader needs living, useful and up-to-date knowledge.

Thematic interpretation completes the lacunae of longitudinal commentaries. It has the following advantages:

1- Interpreting the Qur’an is not only deducing its meaning from the text, but also inducing it from reality, not only explaining (Auslegn), but also understanding (Verstehen), not only knowing, Wissen, but also being aware of, (Besinnen).

2- The interpreter is not only a receiver of meaning, but also a giver. He receives the meaning and puts it in a structure, a rational and a real one. Since Reason and Reality are the same, thematic interpretation is the discovery of the original identity between Revelation, Reason and Nature.

3- Interpreting is not only analyzing, but also synthesizing, not only dividing the whole into its parts, but also bringing the parts to the whole. Interpreting is seeing the core of the thing, bringing the object into focus.

4- Interpreting is discovering something new between the lines, adding to the common knowledge the unknown and the inarticulate, going into a deeper level of the text which corresponds to another deeper level of consciousness. Interpreting is almost writing a new text, the reflection of the Scriptures in the mirror of the individual consciousness [(1)].

II - The Disciplinary Commentaries of the Qur'an

Traditional commentaries of the Qur'an are disciplinary commentaries, following the classification of Islamic major disciplines—(1) scriptural disciplines such as Qur'an, Hadith, Tafsir, Sira, and Fiqh; (2) Scriptural-Rational disciplines such as Theology (Kalam), philosophy (Hikma), Jurisprudence (Usul Al-fiqh) and Mysticism (Tasawwuf); (3) pure rational disciplines such as Mathematics, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and

(١) Hassan Hanafi, Do we have a theory of interpretation? Which comes first: a theory of interpretation or a method of analysis of living experiences? Returning the source or returning to nature?" in Contemporary Issues, Vol 1 Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, Cairo, 1976, pp, 175-78 (In Arabic).

Astronomy, Physics, Medicine, Pharmacology, Botany, Biology; and (4) human disciplines such as philology, Rhetoric, Geography and History. The word discipline is a better translation than the word science, which has become almost synonymous with natural science. The Qur'an was the subject of such disciplinary commentaries to strengthen the discipline more than to understand the Qur'an. Th Qur'an is used as a means to establish the discipline, and afterwards the discipline is used to interprete the Qur'an. That was the beginning of thematic interpretation.

The theme was a whole field of research, a school thought or a sectarian trend. Such commentaries are of the following types:

1- Philological interpretation used the language as an end in itself, as if the Qur'an is a book of language. The linguistic sciences of Philology, Phonetics, Syntax, Symiology, Stylistics, and Rhetoric are all subsidiary ways to understand the meaning. Language, after all, is the form of thought, while meaning is its content. External reality is its point of reference. Language is the house of Being, not an empty structure. Nuances of expressions, refinement of wording and l'esprit de finesse, are tools for something else, understanding the meaning and discovering reality(2).

2- Legal interpretation tried to deduce from the text the legal justifications for human actions, since the heart of Revelation is the law. The Jurists are the guardians of Revelation. Sometimes it goes beyond sectarian Law to the unity of law. However, law is seen as distinct from the creed, from the

(٢) Al-Zajjaj, I'rab al Qur'an, 3 vols. ed. Ibrahim Al-Ibiari. General Egyptian organization, Cairo 1963/1965

philosophy of law or from jurisprudence. Law itself is the expression of customary law. That is why legal interpretation became obsolete and failed to satisfy modern legal needs. The old historical law became "law as such" for all times [3]. There was no jurisprudential interpretation, since jurisprudence is only an axiomatic discipline, taking as givens the norms of human behavior, as well as the analysis of common welfare and public interest. The whole and integral text is not needed in a systematic interpretation, since public interests are changing with time. However some rules are included in the legal interpretation, and became the subject-matter of a subsidiary discipline, the discipline of legal Rules, "Ilm Al-Qawaid Al Fiqhiya".

3- Historical interpretation was made by the historians, using their knowledge twice, once in writing history and another time in writing historical commentaries. Reality was limited to the original historical circumstance in which the Qur'an was revealed. However, this first reality is only a model, to be repeated in all other historical instances. Fixing old circumstances is a blocking of history, reducing all history into one of its phases. Jewish narratives were used to complete the lacking information concerning history of prophecy. The whole

(٣) Al-Jassas: Ahkam al-Qur'an. Egyptian Organization, Cairo, 1347 H. (Hanafite). Abu baker Ibn Al-Arabi: Ahkam Al-Qur'an. Al-Saada. Cairo 1331 H.(Malikite). Al-Qurtobi: Jami' Ahkam Al Qur'an, Dar Al-Kutub, Cairo. 1932 145 (Malikite). Mikdad Al-Siiuri. Kanz Al-Irfan fi Fiqh Al-Quran. Tabriz, 1314 H.(Twelvener). Alkia Al-Harrasi: Ahkam Al-Quran, Mansc Al-Azhar no: 398/7866 (Shafite); Jalal Al-Siuti: Al-Iklil fi Istinbat Al-Tanzil. Manse. Al-Azhar no 1782 (Shafite), Yusuf Al-Tilani: Al-Thamarat Al-Yani'a. Mansc. Dar Al-Kutub, no. 41 (Zaydite)

interpretation is based on an implied theory of correspondence, “adequatio ratio in rei,” as if the Qur’an was a book of history, not a book of wisdom. Historical interpretation fell into the historicist fallacy called, in Islamic Tradition, “interpretation through narratives” (Al-Tafsir bi Al-Ma'thur) [4].

4- Theological interpretation was a means to substantiate the doctrinal opinions of Theological sects and a political weapon against political opponents, especially the doctrine of predestination. It fell into literalism and material objectivism, as if doctrines were things in the external world, not motivations for actions in the internal world. Reason became subsidiary to Scripture and a mere justification of the given, not a foundation. Some doctrines were mere justifications of the status quo, defending the existing political regimes and discrediting the opposition. Some other doctrines were mere hypotheses, without any practical implications [5].

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(٤) Al-Tabri: Jami Al-Bayan fi Tafsir Al-Qur’an, Al-Matbaa Al-Amiriya. Cairo, 1323 H. Al Baghdadi (Al-Husein Ibn Masoud) : Maalim Al-Tanzil, Cairo, Manar 1345 H.; Ibn Kathir (Al-Hafiz Imad Al-Din), Tafsir Al-Qur’an Al-Azim, Al-Matbaa Al-' Tujariya, Cairo, 1356 H. ; Al-Thaalibi (Abdelrahman) Al-Jawahir al-Hisan, Algiers 1323 H.; Al-Situti (Jalal Al-Din) Al-Durr al-Manthur, Al-Mataba Al Husainiya, Cairo 1314 W; Al-Fayruzabadi (Abn Tahir): Tanwir Al-Miqias min Tafsir Ibn Abbas Al-Mataba’a Al-Azharia, Cairo, 1344 H.; Al Samarqandi (Abu Al-Layth) Bahr Al-ulum, Mansc, Dar Al-Kutub, no 3; Al-Thaalibi (Ibn Ishaq); Al-Kashf wa Al Bayan en Tafsir Al-Quran, Mansc, Al-Azhar no 136/5561 ; Al-Andalusi (Abu Atiya) Al-Muharrir Al-Wajiz fi Tafsir Al-Kitab Al-Aziz, Mansc, Dar Al-Kutub, no 10/356.

(٥) Mu’tazilite interpretation: Al-Quadi Abd el-Jabbar: Tanzil Al-Qur’an ‘an Al Mata’in, Al-Jamaliya, Cairo, 1339 H.; Al-Shirif Al-Murtada: Amali, Al-Saada, Cairo, 1325 H.; Al-Zamakhshari: Al-Kashaf, M. Mostapha, Cairo, 130 H. Imamite interpretation: Abdelalif Al-Karzani: Muqadimmat Mir'at Al-Anwar wa Mishkat Al- Asrar, Ajam, 1303 H; Al-Hassan Al-Askari : Tafsir, Tabriz 1314 H. Abu Ali=

5- Philosophical interpretation is a late development from the theological, since philosophy itself is a later development of theology. It is interested in philosophical ideas concerning God, the world, man, destiny, prophecy, eschatology, and Imamate. It is linked to Mu'tazilite interpretation, since both interpretations depend on the autonomy of reason. It is also linked to a mystical interpretation, since both practice esoterism (Ta'wil). It refers to neighboring cultures, absorbing them and even coming to their defense. However, philosophical interpretation went too far in speculative analysis. It depended on pure reason. It used elements from neighboring classical cultures, especially Greek. The purity of reason led into a certain kind of illumination. The macro-cosmos became identical to the micro-cosmos. Socio-Political realities were sacrificed for the sake of utopia (6).

6- Mystical interpretation was also a means to strengthen the mystics' position within the community, against their

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=Al-Tabarsi: Mujmu'al-Bayan, Tehran 1314 H,; Mulla Muhsin Al-Kashi : Al-Safi. Persia, 1244 K; Al Sayed Abdallah Al-Alawi: Tafsir Al-Qur'an, Tehran, 1352 H.; Sultan Al-Khurasani: Bayan Al-Saada, Tehran 1314 H. Zaydi; interpretation ; Al-Shawkani; Fath Al-Quadir, Al-Halabi, Cairo, 1349 H.: Khariji interpretation : Mohammed Atifish: Hamay Al-Zad ila dar Al-maad, Zingibar, 1314 H.

(٦) Al-Razi (Al-Fahkr): Mafatih Al-Ghaib, Amiriya. Cairo, 1289 H.; Al Baydawi: Anwar Al-Tanzill wa Asrar Al-Ta'wil, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Arabiya, Cairo, 1330 Al-Nasafi Madarik Al Tanzil wa Haqaiq Al-Tawil, Al-Sa'ada, Cairo, 1326 W; Al-Kazin Al-bab Al-Ta'wil fi Maani Al-Tanzil, Al-Taquaddum, Cairo, 1321 Abu Hayyan Al-Bahr Al-Muhit, Al-Saada, Cairo, 1328 H.; Al-Galal Al-Mahalli, Al-Galal Al Siuti: Tafsir Al-Galalyn, Dar Ihia Al-Kutub, Cairo, 1345 H.; Al-Nisaburi: Gharib Al- Qur'an wa Raghaib Al-Furquan, Al-Amiriya, Cairo, 1322 K; Al- Katib Al-Shirbini Al-Siraj Al-Munir Al-Amiriya Cairo, 1299 H.; Al-Alusi; Ruh Al-Ma'ani Idarat Al- Tibaa Al-Muniriya, Cairo.

opponents, the jurists. Esoteric interpretation was a reaction against legal and exoteric interpretation of the jurists. The world of interiority is conceived as the opposite to the external world. This interpretation appeared in certain circumstances, when active political opposition failed to change the status quo. Mystics refused to yield. They tried to save themselves from the world, since they were incapable of saving the world. It began with living experiences. Revelation was substantiated into human experiences. Unity involved everything. Practice had an absolute priority on theory. Finality took over causality. The external opposition switched into internal dialectics. However, mystical interpretation transformed the whole world, including the text, to metaphors. Some theoretical refinements were overwhelming. Pathos took over reason. Interiority cancelled exteriority. Isolation was the road to spiritual community. Predestination swallowed free will (7).

7 - In Modern times, reformed interpretation appeared to cope with new circumstances and the modern state of human knowledge and science. The scientific interpretation began to cope with modern scientific discoveries, showing that the Qur'an had already referred to them, if not directly, such as theory of evolution, at least indirectly, such as theory of relativity. This

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(v) Sahl Al-Tustari, Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Karim. Al-Sa'ada. Cairo, 1308 H. Abu Muhammed Rozihan; 'Arais Al-Bayan fi Haqaiq Al-Quran, India, 1315 W; Abd Al Razik Al-Kashani: Tafsir Ibn Arabi. Amiriaya, Cairo. 1238 H: Abu abd Al-Rahman Al-Sullami: Haqaiq Al-Tafsir, Mansc Al-Azhar no. 1093; Najm Al-Din Daya, Ala'al-Dawla Al Bayanafqi; Al-Tawilat Al-Najiyya, Mansc. Dar Al-Kutub, no. 36.

interpretation began with the scientific discoveries of others, by external scientific knowledge, known by reason and experimentation. Divine Revelation followed human knowledge and was conditioned by it. Since human knowledge is partial and changing, Divine Revelation became likewise. This interpretation gives the Muslims a false certitude that the Qur'an already includes all scientific discoveries. Therefore, they do not need Western science. The West has science without faith, while Muslims have science and faith. Transfer of scientific knowledge does not necessarily imply the adoption of the scientific outlook(8).

8 - Socio-Political interpretation is the closest modern interpretation to thematic interpretation. It begins with present socio-political circumstances and uses the text as a critical tool in order to see the distance between the Real and the Ideal. Qur'anic interpretation is a social critique of Muslim societies. The text is the form, the actual reality is the content. The interpretation is directed towards social change, taking into consideration the major problems in the Muslim world, joining theory to practice, going beyond classical interpretations, linking the text to present times (9). However, the socio-political problem did not have absolute priority. Textual analysis was still dominant over analysis of reality. It followed longitudinal interpretation. As a result, social change was partial, without

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(٨) Tantawi Gohari: Al-Jawahir fi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Hakim, Al-Halabi, Cairo, 1340 K; Abuzeid Al-Damanhuri: Al-Hidaya wa Al-'Irfan, Al-Halabi, Cairo, 1349 H.

(٩) M. Abdou, Tafsir Juz Amma, Matba'it Masr, Cairo, 1341 H; M. Abdou, R. Redha, Tafsir surat Al-fatiha, Al-Manar Cairo 1353 H; R. Redha: Tafsir Al-Manar, Cairo, 1346 H; M.M. Al-Maraghi: Al-Durus Al-Diniya, Matbait Al-Azhar, Cairo, 1356 H.

tackling radical political issues, namely class, power, and wealth. Religion and ethics still had priority over politics and society. Human and social sciences were not used to transform Qur'anic interpretation into a rigorous discourse.

9- Aesthetic interpretation was one of the last modern interpretations, interpreting the text as metaphor. Reality is expressed in the text as an image, to persuade the reader. The text is a living experience, a mode of consciousness, an aesthetic dimension between the individual and reality. The meaning of the text is expressed in a metaphor. It is not in the text but in the self, not in the object but in the subject [(10)]. However, individual consciousness without external reality is mere subjectivity.

Analysis of reality and its statistical description introduce the reader into the real world of beauty, persuasion, aesthetics, images, metaphors, stylistics, Rhetoric, grammar of emotions. These are means of easy conviction and strong motivation and militancy, but less rational and almost not real. Aesthetic interpretation succeeds in mobilizing the masses, but fails in changing societies and building states.

III - Premises of the Method

There are some premises prior to the rules of the method. A premise is not a mere presupposition, but a factual given, a contestation of reality, a declaration of modesty, a recognition of limitations, an affirmation of pluralism and the motivation for open inquiry. The premises are the philosophical foundation of the method.

(١٠) Sayyed Qutb, Fi Zilal Al-Qur'an, Dar Al-Shuruq, Cairo.

1- Revelation is put between brackets, neither affirmed, nor denied. The interpreter does not ask the question widely debated in 19th century Orientalism, regarding the Divine origin of the Qur'an, whether it is from God or from Mohammed by hear-say. Thematic interpretation begins with the given after being given, without questioning its origin before being given. It begins after receiving the Book, not before. It deals with the question of what, not the question of how. If the historical origin of the Qur'an can be proved by historical analysis, the Divine origin cannot be proven except negatively, by the limitation of historical analysis. That is why the whole issue is between brackets. It does not matter for the interpreter. A text is a text. Divine or Human, sacred or profane, religious or secular. Moreover, the question of the origin is the problem of genesis, while thematic interpretation asks the question of essence.

2- The Qur'an is considered as any other text, subject to interpretation, a legal code, a literary work, a philosophical text, a historical document. It does not have any special category, such as sacred or religious. All texts are subjects to the same rules of interpretation. The distinction between the holy and the profane is not related to general hermeneutics, but to religious practice. Moreover, the Qur'an itself, especially the Hadith, is a transmutation of Human language, Arabic or foreign words and even utterances pronounced by the believers and even by the non-believers [(11)]. The Qur'an created a new genre literaire amidst old genres: poetry, prose, liturgy.

(١١) Hassan Hanafi, Revelation and Reality (Al-Wahy wa Al-Wa'qi), A Study in Asbab Al-Nuzul; in Islam and Modernism, Dar Al-Saqi, London 1990 pp. 133-75 (In Arabic).

3- There is no true or false interpretation, right or wrong understanding. There are only different efforts to approach the text from different interests, for different motivations. The conflict of interpretation is a conflict of interests. Even the linguistic interpretation of the text language changes. An accurate explanation of a text, according to linguistic principles, is mere tautology. A complete equation between the text explained and the explanation of the text is a formal presupposition based on the law of identity. The distance in time between the moment of utterance and the moment of explanation is over fourteen centuries, which makes a theory of equation between the text and its interpretation almost impossible.

4- There is no one interpretation of a text, but there are many interpretations, given the difference in understanding between different interpreters. An interpretation of a text is essentially pluralistic. The text is only a vehicle for human interests and even passions. The text is a mere form. The interpreter fills it with a content from his time and space.

5- The conflict of interpretations is essentially a socio-political conflict, not a theoretical one. Theory indeed is only an epistemological cover up. Each interpretation expresses the sociopolitical commitment of the interpreter. Interpretation is an ideological weapon, used by different socio-political powers to maintain or to change the status quo, to maintain by the conservatives, and to change by the revolutionaries (12).

(١٢) Hassan Hanafi, "Difference in Interpretation or Difference in Interests?" in Religion and Revolution in Egypt 1952-81, vol. 7, and "Right and Left in Religious Thought," pp 117-20 Madbouly, Cairo, 1989 (Arabic).

IV - Rules of Thematic Interpretation

Since every method, deductive or inductive, rational experimental, has certain rules to follow, thematic interpretation is a method containing several rules, which can be summarized as follows:

1- Socio-political commitment. The interpreter is not a neutral person. He is a citizen, living the drama of his country and the crisis of his time. He is anguished by reality and obsessed by social change. He identifies himself with the poor and oppressed. “Sitz im Leben” is not only for the text, but also for the interpreter. There is no interpreter without a commitment to something. The absence of commitment is a negative commitment, a commitment for nothing, for non-commitment. The interpreter is a committed person for a cause. He is a reformer, a social actor, a revolutionary.

2- Looking for something. The interpreter does not enter his field empty handed, without knowing what he is seeking. He does not have a neutral consciousness, but a positional one. His consciousness is oriented towards something. He is looking for the solution of a problem. Reason is interest. This is the old theme of Asbab Al-Nuzul, the priority of reality over the text, the question over the answer. The stimulus comes before the response.

3- Synopsis of the verses concerning one theme. The whole verses concerning one theme/interest are gathered, simultaneously read and understood together several times, till major orientations of the whole verses appear. The Qur’an interpreted is not the holy Qur’an, but the Qur’anic Lexicon, Al-Mu’jam Al-

Mufahras, the Qur'an edited according to themes in alphabetical order of words, verbs, nouns and articles.

4 - Classification of Linguistic Forms. The first appearance of the meaning is the linguistic form, which content-analysis tried to classify. Language as a form of thought is a leading thread to the meaning. Linguistic forms can be classified as follows:

a- Verbal and nominal. The verb indicates, action, while the noun refers to substance. Tawhid, the first principle in Islamic faith for instance, is a verbal noun, neither a verb Wahhada, nor a noun Wahid, which means Tawhid as a process, as activity, from action to Being.

b- Verbal time. Present, past and future times indicate the difference between the story or the narrative, the factual description and the forthcoming future. Reality, which is equal to truth, is expressed in three modes of time to indicate the permanence of truth in the permanence of time.

c- Number. Nouns are singular or plural. The singular form indicates individuality, like consciousness (Shucur), while the plural form refers to collectivism and social group, such as men, people, (Nas).

d- Possessive adjectives. Possessive adjectives can be pronouns or relative conjuctions. The noun without possessive adjective cannot be owned or personalized, like Heavens and Earth. Pronouns can be first person (Ich-Wort), second person, the addressee in dialogue, or third person, the absent other.

e- Vocalization. Nouns can be nominative, indicating action of the efficient cause namely the subject, accusative indicating the object, dative referring to the spatial relations between the subject and the object.

f- Definition. Nouns can be definite or indefinite. The definite is known as a singular while the indefinite refers to the collective. The first is an address to the particular while the second is an address to the general.

5- Building the structure. After the linguistic forms give the orientations of the meaning, the interpreter tries to build the structure of the thing, going from the meaning to the object, from the noesis to the noema. The meaning and the object are one thing, two facets of the same internationality. The meaning is the subjective object, the object is the objective subject. Both are correlations of the same consciousness.

6- Analyzing the factual situation. After building the theme as an ideal structure, the interpreter switches to factual reality of poverty, oppression, human rights, power, and wealth in order to know quantitatively and statistically the real components of the situation, the causes of phenomenon and factors of change, with the maximum of precision, using figures and diagrams, as in human and social sciences. Social diagnostics of reality is another way to understand the meaning through the dynamics of the text in the external world.

7- Comparison between the Ideal and the Real. After building the structure, giving the qualitative theme, analyzing the

factual situation, and giving the quantitative status of the theme as a socio-historical phenomenon, the interpreter draws the comparison between the ideal structure, deduced by content-analysis from the text, and the factual situation induced from statistics and the social sciences. The interpreter lives between text and reality, between the ideal and the real, between the Sein-Sollen and the Sein, in Hegelian terms, between Being and Nothingness, Becoming emerges.

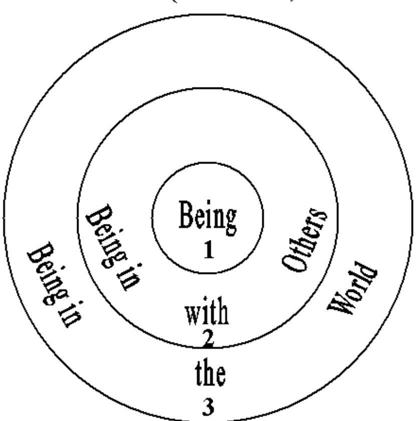
8- Description of modes of action. Once the distance is seen between the ideal world and the real world, between the kingdom of Heaven and the kingdom of Earth, action emerges as a new step in the interpretation process. The interpreter himself switches from text to action, from theory to practice, from understanding to changing. Logos and praxis converge in bridging the gap between the Ideal and the Real, by finding means of communication between the two worlds, adapting the Ideal to be closer to the real and changing the real to be closer to the Ideal. Gradual steps, time and combined efforts are required, without skipping steps or using violence. The complete realization of the Ideal and the idealization of the Real are natural process of Reason and Nature (13).

V - The Scheme of Thematic Interpretation

Thematic interpretation is not limited to interpretation of themes, since these themes are related to an order, to a system or

(١٣) Hassan Hanafi, Les Méthodes d'exégèse, Imprémerie Nationale, Cairo. 1965, pp. 309-21.

to a scheme. Old schemes in disciplinary interpretations were theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts in Ash'arite theology, the five principles in Mu'tazilite theology, the triology of logic, physics, metaphysics in philosophy, states (Ahwal) and steps (Maquamat) in mysticism, Intentions (Maquasid) and legal qualifications (Ahkam), objective qualifications (Ahkam Al-Wad') and Subjective qualification (Ahkam Al-Taklif) in jurisprudence, Ritual (Ibadat) and social relations (Mu'amalat) in Fiqh. Thematic interpretation is based on three intersecting circles, sharing the same center: Being (Sein), Being with others (Mitsein), Being in the world (Aussein, In-der-Welt-Sein).



1- Individual consciousness is the core of the world. Being as Beginning is Cogito ergo sum. In Fichte's terms, the self posits itself in opposing the external World. The Self is identical to itself as self-consciousness, a first given, an act of consciousness, a feeling, an awareness, an enlightenment, a vocation. Being is the conscious Being, not the material one. The discovery of the body

is a second cogito. The first is in time, while the second is in space. Individual consciousness is a whole world including senses, External and internal, sensation perception, cognition, feeling, emotion, motivation, inclination, action. Interiority is the condition of exteriority in knowing and Doing.

2- Being with others indicates the social, the intersubjective and the human world, the relation of the individual with other individuals in marriage, paternity, maternity, brotherhood, sisterhood, friendship. Political relations include the relation between the citizen and the State. Economic relations are manifested in relations of productivity, commerce, wages, prices, profits, exploitation, monopoly, ownership, and contracts. Social relations include also equality, social justice, honesty.

3- Being in the world refers to the relation of individual consciousness to nature, the world of things . Nature is made for human subservience. Nature is full of signs denoting its origin and its significance. It is subjected to man. It refers to Heavens, sky, sun, moon, stars, winds, clouds and birds, It refers also to waters rivers, springs, wells, seas. Nature is also the realm of plants, vegetation, valley, pastures, fields, gardens, trees, crops, fruits and flowers. Animals are part of Nature, including cattle, beasts, insects and flies. Human beings also belong to Nature, including body, material needs, actions in the world (14).

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(١٤) Hassan Hanafi, Human Subservience of Nature: An Islamic Model. Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research; The Committee for Future Oriented Research, Natural Resources in a Cultural Perspective Stockholm, 1980.

VI - Examples of Thematic Interpretation

Just to show the interest and the relevance of thematic interpretation, three examples can be taken, the Human Being (Insan), money (Mal), and land (Ard).

1 - The term Insan is mentioned in the Qur'an 65 times in the singular form, which indicates individuality, 6 times (Unas) which means group, human beings, 1 time (Ins) which means human being in the singular, 1 time as a verbal adjective (Musta'nas),which means familiarity, intimacy, closeness.

Concerning the content, there are five orientations of meaning. First, man is created exnihilo, an experience of nothingness expressed by contemporary existentialist philosophers, 12 times. He is created from clay, sperm. He is also created from knowledge. Knowledge is the real foundation of Being. Knowledge is expressed in language. Second, man is psychological structure, 33 times, much more important than his material origin. He is weak, fragile, hurrying, unaware of time, fearful, motivated and moved by passions. He asks help in moments of crisis, but once the crisis is resolved he forgets. He is happy and unhappy, hopeful and despairing, comes and goes, generous and avaricious, strong and weak, fragile and solid, remembers and forgets.

He can be an enemy, a dictator, arrogant, immoral, ignorant, skeptical, hesitant, speculative, and suspicious. Third, man is challenged by an enemy who does not recognize his value and does not admit his potentialities and honors. Through the acceptance of the challenge appears the greatness of man. The challenger is not necessarily a person, but the whole socio-political

circumstances man lives in. Fourth, man is responsable. He has a vocation to be fulfilled on earth. Assuming this responsibility, man becomes greater than heavens, earth and mountains. His life is striving. His existence is temptation, a pass fail exam. Fifth, Man's greatness lies in his success in transforming his weakness to strength, his fragility to solidity, his imperfection to perfection. Man is alone, individually responsible. However, he has one relation, not with God, but with his parents [(15)].

2 - “Mal” in the Qur’an does not mean money in a literal sense, but wealth or ownership in general. Concerning linguistic forms, the word Mal is mentioned in the Qur’an 86 times, in different forms, given its importance, no less than prophet (80 times) or revelation (78 times). The word is mentioned once as substantive (32 times) and once connected to possessive adjectives (54 times), which indicates that wealth can be outside private ownership. Ownership is the link between Man and wealth, a function, a deposit, a relation and an investment. Wealth cannot be monopolized or stocked. Etymologically, (Mal) is not a substantive but a relative pronoun (Mal) linked to the proposition (Li), which means what is to me. The word is mentioned in the indefinite (17 times) and definite (15 times), which means that wealth can be known and unknown. The definition is made by the definite article or by the conjunction to the possessive adjective. The word is mentioned in the singular Mal (l8 times) and plural (Amwal) (14) times), which indicates the priority of individual wealth over the accumulation of wealth.

(١٥) Hassan Hanafi, “Why the Research on Man was Absent in our Old Tradition?” in Islamic Studies, Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo, 1981. pp. 393-415 (In Arabic).

The word is mentioned in the nominative 2 times, and in the accusative 13 times, which means that wealth is rarely an efficient cause. It is more a recipient of human action and its result. Wealth is not subject (Mubtada') or predicate (khabar), but an object for a subject and a verb. The two times where wealth is mentioned in the nominative form are used negatively. Mal is also connected to possessive adjectives, first person singular (7 times), third person plural (47 times), which means that wealth is a collective ownership on behalf of the absentees, the deprived, the poor, and the orphans. The first person indicates the upper class, the second person refers to the middle class, while the third person refers to the lower class. Concerning the content, there are three orientations of meaning: first, wealth, ownership and inheritance belong to God not to man, entrusted to man as a deposit; second, man has the right to use, not misuse, to invest not to stock, to spend, not to waste, to development and defense; third, the oral independence of human consciousness vis à vis wealth makes wealth a simple means for human perfection. Wealth is for man, not man for wealth [16].

3 – Land or Earth (Ard) is mentioned in the Qur'an (462 times), as substantive (454 times), and connected to possessive adjective (8 times), which means that land is not an object of possession. Land is in the category of Being, not of Having . The only time the word is connected to the first person is related to God, which means that God is the only owner of the Land.

(١٦) Hassan Hanafi Al-Mal in the Qur'an (content analysis), in Religion and Revolution in Egypt. 1952-81, Vol VII, Right and Left in Religious Thought, Madbouly. Cairo, 1989, pp. 121-45.

Concerning the orientations of meaning, there are five: first, God is the only possessor of the land. God is also the true heir of the Land. Land is created. In this use, land means Earth, the whole land. Land is obedient to God and worships Him during its life, since Land will end. Second, Natural Land as green soil, the image of fertility and beauty. Production by the land is indeed an image of creativity in human life. It is for humans to eat, to dwell and to enjoy. Land is also the stepping-land for all living creatures, an image of plurality and of human agglomeration. It is also a land of conflict, a battlefield, a land of immigration and exile, a land of experience and temptation, making the history of man on Earth. History is a great field of verification of human vocation and the fulfillment of God's word on Earth. Third, Man's vocation is fulfilled on Earth, since God is God of Heavens and Earth. The connection is made 217 times out of 462 times. Man is the vice-gerant of God on Earth, since God does not interfere directly in the world. Vice-gerancy means his eligibility of succession and inheritance. Only man's deeds can qualify him for this eligibility. Land is spacious in the same measure as human action. Man's vocation on Earth transforms his weakness into strength as an individual. This vocation is not a mere inclination to act, but it corresponds to an objective Truth, the foundation of Earth. Land is sensible to truth assumed freely by man. Fourth, the fulfillment of man's vocation on the land begins with the belief in unity, which manifests itself in good deeds. Nature is docile and obedient to man as it is to God. The heirs of the land are not an assigned people forever, from the beginning of a promise till the end, as an absolute right given a

priori, but every individual or community must earn it, himself or herself, in piety and truthfulness. Land is to be protected, not destroyed or polluted. Fifth, a universal covenant is offered to every individual, not a particular one, a moral covenant not material one, a contractual covenant not a unilateral one [17].

VII - Objections and Answers

Some objections may be made to the method of thematic interpretation such as :

1 - Thematic interpretation deals with the Qur'anic text, without making any distinction between the holy and the profane, the Divine and the human, the religious and the secular, which may lead to the denial of revelation and the negation of prophecy. This objection can be made within Muslim conservative circles. Thematic interpretation puts the whole issue of the origin of the Qur'an between brackets. It is not within its scope and field of research, positively or negatively. However, the Qur'anic text is written in the Arabic language, uttered in a certain time and space, to be understood by a special community in certain socio-political circumstances, with a practical purpose, changing society for the better. There is a whole human and social manifestation of Revelation. What is prior to it belongs to theology, not to thematic interpretation [18].

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(١٧) Hassan Hanafi, "Theology of Land," in Religious Dialogue & Revolution. Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo, 1977, pp. 125 - 173.

(١٨) Hassan Hanafi, Levels of Qur'anic Text, Adab wa Naqd, Monthly Review. Cairo, May, 1993, pp. 21-22.

2- Thematic interpretation is a relativistic approach to the Qur'anic text, denying a true interpretion, once for all, for all times and spaces, from the creation of the world till the end of the world. Once every interpreter or every generation interprets the Qur'an according to his interest, the eternal meaning of the Qur'an will disappear. Human passions and inclinations would destroy the objectivity of the meaning. What would be the criteria of validity in case of contradictory interpretations? How would the reader, the follower and the believer choose between different conflicting interpretations? The answer, is an eternal meaning of the Qur'an is a hypothesis, a presupposition and a theoretical case which cannot be known practically. The interpreter is a human being, living in a human condition, having his own inclinations and interests. He is mortal. It would be pretentious for him to claim that he can give the eternal meaning of the Qur'an. The validity of an interpretation is in its own power. There is no theoretical validity, but only a conflict of power.

3- Thematic interpretation may be accused of Marxism, given the high and clear commitment for the poor, the oppressed and the wretched of the earth. Social justice, labor as source of value, rejection of surplus value, common ownership of means of production. All are Marxist components. In fact, such elements are not due to Marxism, but appeared in Marxism given the condition of workers in Germany in the 19th century. In the Arab and Muslim world, colonialism, oppression, social injustices, maldistribution of wealth, poverty, ignorance, dictatorship, tyranny, autocracy are socio-political givens. Thematic interpretation begins from reality. It is clear that it

appears in a so-called Marxist jargon. In fact, the situation in which Marxism originated may be more or less similar to the situation where thematic interpretation is taking birth. Since Western culture became, by usage and habit, the sole frame of reference, thematic interpretation is seen as Marxism. Thus was the early Islam adopted by the poors the oppressed and the marginal in Meccan Society.

4- Since thematic interpretation is using a philosophical language and some technical vocabulary related to phenomenology, it can be accused quickly of being the victim of Westernization. Humanism, Rationalism, Criticism, Activism, all belong to the West. This is really cruel, giving the West the monopoly of discovery and innovation, as if the West is the only culture which discovered Humanism, Rationalism, Activism and Socialism. These needs and values exist in every culture. Western philosophical vocabulary in the last two centuries have become very common and usual in contemporary Arab and Muslim discourse, like Greek terminology in classical philosophy. Modern philosophical vocabulary, including phenomenology, is only used as a means of expression. The content is endogenous. What Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were for the Ancients, Kant, Hegel, and Husserl may be for the moderns.

CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY (*)

I - History, Geography, Circumstances and Trends

Contemporary Islamic philosophy requires first the definition of three words, contemporary, Islamic, and philosophy.

There is no consensus among scholars on what “contemporary” should include. Does it include the 19th century, or does it refer only to the 20th century, since the 19th probably belongs to modern Islamic philosophy? However, according to other scholars, there is no distinction drawn between contemporary and modern. Both are used alternatively. Both begin with the first intellectual contact of the Muslim World with the West as it appears in thinkers such as Al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) in Egypt and Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) in India.

The term “Islamic” covers most of the intellectual production in the Muslim world, and is wider and more accurate than the term “Arabic” in “Contemporary Arabic philosophy,” often used within the Arab world and in Oriental-ism. Sometimes both terms are used interchangeably. "Arabic" may of course refer not only to geography but also to language. Many writings in the Muslim World are written in Arabic, but others are also written in English, French, Persian, Urdu and other languages. The contemporary Muslim World was one political entity, the Ottoman Empire, not coterminous with what we now call the Arab and Muslim national States.

(*) Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy, London, 1991, pp. 1025-1042.

Some regions were more active than others for geographic and historical reasons. Egypt, Syria, Turkey and India were more intellectually productive than the rest of the Muslim World. Egypt received the first cultural shock through the French expedition (1798-1801) before the French colonisation of Algeria in 1830 and the British invasion of Eden in 1839. Syria was also in direct contact with Western culture through missionaries and Syrian Christians. Turkey was the metro-pole of the Muslim World and the center of the Khalifate, in direct contact with the West, eager to swallow the Ottoman Empire and through the young Turks, see the adoption of the West as a model of modernization. Each centre stretched out to a wider area: Egypt in North Africa, Syria included Lebanon and Jordan; Turkey covered Northern Iraq central Asia; India expanded westwards, including Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and eastwards including Malaysia, Indonesia, and Philippines. Factually, Egypt was the center of Muslim intellectual creativity. It lies in the heart of the Muslim World. North Africans passed through Egypt during their pilgrimage. For Turkey, Egypt may be, through the rule of Mohamed Ali, the natural heir of the Ottoman Empire. Most Syrian intellectuals acquired their reputation after they journeyed to Egypt, Vienna of Music, or Paris of enlightenment. For Sudan, Egypt is the northern gate to the West and to modernity. Islamic reform took place in Egypt and widely spread out eastwards to Malaysia and Indonesia. Egypt, during the rule of Mohamed Ali, was the model of modernization in all Africa and Asia, with Japan during the Meiji era. Ethnic homogeneity, social cohesion, central power, historical legacy and religious education made Egypt the cradle of contemporary Islamic philosophy.

The term "philosophy" in Islam does not have a strict sense. It refers neither to a method nor to a system. It has a very wide sense, including religious reform, socio-political thinking and secular scientific thought. The word “thought” is more adequate than the word “Philosophy”. In many Arab universities, the subject matter is called “thought” not “philosophy,” since the latter lacks theoretical rigor. It is still somehow similar to Montaigne’s “Essais” and to the popular writings of the French enlightenment. Systematic contemporary philosophy is absent, since tradition is playing, even now, the role of epistemology, ontology, and axiology. God exists, the World is created and the soul is immortal. These three major philosophical propositions are still unquestionable. There is no “coupure espistemologique” between the past and the present, which permits a philosophical radical beginning as happened during the renaissance in the West.

Historical circumstances led to the birth of contemporary Islamic philosophy. The French expedition to Egypt, led by Napoleon Bonaparte, was the first cultural shock. Scholars accompanying the army founded the "Institute," published newspapers, brought printing machines for Arabic and French, collected data and wrote a "Description of Egypt". A new modern World has been seen and used as a mirror to see one's self. Missionaries, especially in Syria and Lebanon, founded new schools and colleges as well as scientific and literary societies. Oriental-ism also helped in the publication of classical texts and the study of the history of the Muslim World. New schools were founded. Several missions were sent to Europe to learn modern sciences. Many writers visited Europe and wrote their journeys,

reading one's self in the mirror of the other, and reading the other in the mirror of one's self. Printing expanded, and the press gave new opportunity for the publication of new ideas and the popularization of culture. Translations from Western languages into Arabic gave the opportunity to the Arabs and Muslims to became acquainted with modern thought.

It is difficult to classify contemporary Islamic thinkers into different trends. Some scholars just mention them selectively and chronologically (A. Amin). Others classify them according to their professions as khedivi family, kings and princes, generals, administrators and politicians, businessmen and pious people, the pioneers of scientific renaissance, journalists, literary men (G. Zeidan). The spectrum here is very wide, including all men of reputation. Another scholar classifies thinkers into six groups, liberal and radical thinkers, reformers defending the Ottoman league, reactionaries also defending the Ottoman League, reformers defending Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism, Arab nationalists, and reformers calling for Ottoman decentralization (M. M. Musa). In this classification, trends already appear, such as Pan-Islamism, Pan-Arabism, Arab nationalism, liberalism, reformism, and radicalism. Another classification begins directly with four trends: religious, political, social, and scientific (A. Al-Muhafza). Another classification puts major thinkers into three groups: pioneers, literary men, pioneers of culture and education, and secular scientific thought (H. Sharabi). A final classification tries to distinguish between three groups, Traditionalists or conservatives, modernists or pro-Westerners, and syncretists (M. J. Al-Ansari).

It is clear however, that major trends in contemporary Islamic thought are three, religious reform, socio-political thought, and secular scientific thought. The first begins with religion, the second with the State, and the third with science. At the same time, all thinkers orient themselves in three fronts: Old Islamic tradition, new Western tradition, and the present reality of the Arab and Muslim World, where these two traditions interact.

Religious reformers defend Islamic tradition after its renewal, criticize the metaphysical foundation of Western tradition such as materialism and atheism, and accept its practical achievements: freedom, democracy, social justice, and scientific progress. On the other hand, secular scientific thought criticizes the petrified tradition and defends the Western one as a model of modernization. The third trend, namely socio-political liberalism, takes an eclectic stand vis à vis both traditions, Islamic as well as Western, reading each through the eyes of the other. Islam is a liberal religion and Western liberalism is not that far from Islamic ideals. The purpose here is the foundation of the modern State, linked to the past through continued tradition, and to the present through Western modernity.

II - Religious Reform

Religious reform goes back to Ibn Taymiya (1262-1327) and his efforts to purify Islam of mystical deviations, theological stagnation and legal formalism. Moral change of political power and mutual consultation (Shura) with the people lead to social change.

Afterwards, religious reform was launched by socio-religious and political movements. They were at first from a

traditional type, Salafiya, the Wahabi movement in Higaz founded by M. Ibn Abd Al-Wahab (1703-1792), a simple call for the purification of Islam and the return to Islamic doctrines like the unity of God ,which appears in theory as transcendence and in practice as the rejection of superstitions and all forms of associations and intercessions between man and God. Al-Shawkani (1759-1839) in Yemen almost made the same call: Purification of Islam, rejection of imitation and deviations as well. In Iraq, the two Alusis, Mahmoud (1802-1853) and Shukry (1856-1924) repeated the same prescription with some mystical influence. In Lybia, M. A. Al-Sanusi (1878-1859) and his son al-Mahdi (1859-1902) shared the same goals: the return to the purity of early Islam, the rejection of imitation and the acceptance of mystical teachings. In Sudan. M. ben A. Al-Mahdi (1844-1885) reiterated the same guidelines: purification of Islam, reunification of the four schools of law, rejection of deviations, and struggle against political corruption. These Salafiya reform movements had an impact on the practical level through socio-political activism. Their theoretical contribution was however minimal. Philosophy was still banned since Al-Ghazali's refutation in the (Tahafut) and the legal opinions prohibiting philosophy, such as Ibn Al-Salah's.

Since previous religious movements were essentially efforts to renew the self and to restore its purity in history, another reformist school was more open to the West. New circumstances occurred, for example the occupation of the Muslim World by Western powers. The scene was this: the backwardness of the self, and progress of the west. The question arose, why the Muslims

declined while the West progressed? Al-Afghani (1839-1897) was the pioneer of this movement. The Islamic World declined because Muslims lost their faith. They have to liberate themselves from fanaticism. Faith and science can be accommodated. The return to the authentic Islamic tradition helps in the affirmation of the self and the rejection of the imitation of the West. However, Muslims have to be open to modernity without imitation. Islam is capable of giving Muslims nowadays the prerequisites of renaissance, refuting Renan's opposition between Islam and science. Islam is a huge modern project of liberation of the Muslim World from external colonialism and internal despotism. Predestination as passive behavior is a misinterpretation of the Islamic belief in destiny. Muslims form one community in one Pan-Islamic political entity, sharing wealth and free citizenship. A. Al-Nadim (1845-1896) combined revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, defending freedom, democracy, citizenship, and patriotism. M. Abdou (1849-1905), Afghani's disciple, continued his master's mission, concentrating on the ethical and educational foundation of reform, the purification of Islam from all forms of deviations, reviewing Islamic doctrinal systems in the light of modern science, the defense of Islam against Western influences, and the reform of higher education. His disciple M.R. Reda (1865-1935) continued the same line, declaring the independence of thought and the freedom of reason in practicing science, the rejection of superstitions and non-Islamic social customs, the return to pure Islam as presented in Islamic scriptures, the refutation of all anti-Islamic doctrines such as atheism, materialism and nihilism, the re-education of the Muslims and the spreading of Islam for the whole

world. Ch. Arsalan (1869-1946) continued to ask the same question : why had Muslims declined while others progressed? His answer was two-fold: first, Muslim glory in the past had extended not only into the southern Mediterranean shore, but also in the northern shore, in Europe; second, the Muslim crisis in the present and how to solve it. H. Al-Banna, Reda's disciple (1906-1949), conceived Islam as a whole edification of the individual and of the community. He implemented al-Afghani's dream, founding an Islamic revolutionary party to realize the Islamic revolutionary project: Islam versus imperialism from outside and despotism inside. "Muslim Brethren" was a hugely popular organization, capable of acquiring power just before the 1952 army revolution in Egypt. Sayed Qutb (1906-1966) was the prominent thinker of the Brethren before being jailed and tortured in 1954. His "Signposts on the Road," opposing Islam to Jahiliya and calling for the total destruction of the actual Muslim States, to build a new ideal society is even now, the motto of Muslim activist groups.

In this reformist modernist school there is a gradual decline in radicalism from the pioneers to the present generation. Only Adib Ishak (1856-1885), the Christian disciple of al-Afghani, continued on the ascending radical line of the thought of his master, looking for causes of the Muslim decline and of the Western progress. While M. Abdou suffered a set-back after the defeat of the Orabi revolution, R. Reda suffered another setback after the take-over of the young Turks in 1924, changing the Kalifate to a secular liberal Western model, and switched from modernist reform to Salafiya conservatism. Internal circum-stances can be behind such setbacks such as of S. Qutb. He

began as a poet, a literary critic, and a social writer, then switched after prison and torture, since 1954, from social revolution to coup d'etat, from open political and social struggle to underground secret organization, from openness and dialogue to closed-ness and monologue.

A third branch of religious reform is linked to the internal circumstances of the Muslim world, namely the destiny of the kalifate, to be preserved, a symbol of Islamic unity, but reformed to cope with modernity; or abolished for other alternatives, such as Arab nationalism for the Arab World or regional nationalism for Turkey? Al-Sayadi (1849-1909) defended the Ottoman Empire in the name of the unity of the Muslim world. R. Al-Azm (1867-1925) defended a reformed Ottoman Empire, given the importance of social relations, the affirmation of self-identity and the need for decentralization. A. Al-Maghribi (1867-1956) called for a modern democratic and socialist Ottoman Empire. T. Al-Gazairi (1852-1920) called for decentralisation legitimizing Arab and Ottoman leagues. A. Al-Zahrawi (1855-1916) shared the same ideal in order to keep ethnic diversity within Islamic unity. S. Al-Quasimi (1887-1916) stood for Arab renaissance based on decentralisation, nationalism, freedom, education, democracy, and science. His brother G. Al-Quasimi (1865-1914) shared the same ideals and presented a critique of Ottoman despotism and a call for freedom, democracy, and a parliamentary constitutional system. Religion is viable once based on patriotism, science, education, and expertise. Arabism is identical to Islam since Arabs were the first carrier of Islam. Al-Kawakibi (1848-1902) is the prominent figure who represents

this dual legitimacy between Ottoman and Arab leagues. He studied the nature of despotism and how to overcome dictatorship, trying to find the links between despotism from one side and religion, masses, wealth and so on from the other. He also described the indifference of the Muslim masses, trying to trace its religious, political, ethical, and social causes. In north Africa, religious reform followed the modernist school founded by Al-Afghani and represented by A. ben Badis (1887-1914), and A. Al-Ibrahimi (1889-1965) in Algeria, A. Al-Fasi (1910-1974) in Marocco, and A. ben Ashour (1868) in Tunisia. Islam and nationalism are identical without the intercession of Arab nationalism, which may be distinct from Pan-Islamism or regional nationalism, as in Syria.

In Asia, religious reform was initiated in India by A. Khan (1817-1898) who introduced Muslims there to modern Western culture. A. Ali (1849-1928) tried also to express the spirit of Islam as a rational ethical and human Worldview. M. Iqbal (1873-1938) expressed his new Islamic philosophy in prose, though mostly in poems. The affirmation of the self (Khudi), as subjectivity in the individual and in the community, is a manifestation of Divinity in human life. God (Khuda) is from the same root. In subjectivity, man and God are unified. Subjectivity is true creativity, internal spiritual life similar to mystical experience. It opposes all forms of external domination and internal imitation. The West, on the contrary, is material, conceptual, and hegemonic. The philosophy of life of Bergson and Nietzsche, and the practical idealism of Fichte, may lie behind Iqbal's philosophy.

Religious reform takes a defensive position vis à vis Islamic tradition and a critical stand vis à vis Western culture, for the three last generations since R. Reda, M. Iqbal, Qutb, and actual Muslim groups. The tradition begins with Divine revelation in the Qur'an, continues through the prophetic tradition and arrives at the legal schools. Since it was successful in the past in changing society and in founding a State and even an Empire, it is also thought capable nowadays of doing the same. Sometimes it is called integrism or fundamentalism, a predictable reaction to Westernisation and to the failure of modern ideologies of modernization.

Religious reform continued to be a major source of inspiration for modem Islamic philosophy, although it was not an academic and rigorous philosophy in itself more rhetoric, popular and activist. It has subsided now and become history. New generations are now succeeding to transform this zeal to a more rigorous religious thought as a transitional step towards philosophy as a rigorous discipline.

III – Socio-Political Thought

Socio-political thought is the second trend in modern Islamic thought, beginning with the State. Two distinctive schools can be recognized: Regional nationalism and Arab nationalism.

Al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) in Egypt is the father of Egyptian nationalism. He conceived a modern national State based on liberalism and the ideas of the enlightenment. The fatherland is the place for all citizens to live in and to build, by freedom,

thought, and factory. The ideals of the French revolution, liberty, equality and fraternity, are at the very basis of civil society. The common welfare is preserved as a common goal. Labor is the only source of value. Agriculture, industry, and commerce are the main sources of the nation's wealth. The separation of powers lays the ground for the parliamentary system. Female education is a national duty, just as male education is. Western political ideals were transposed into Islamic culture and justified by Islamic sources as if they were coming from within Islamic tradition, not from without. Egyptian nationalism and Islam are identical. Love of one's country is an article of faith. A. Mubarak (1824-1893) continued on this mission, concentrating on education and city planning. Like Al-Tahtawi, he compared the Western life style with the traditional one. A.F.Zaghloul (1863-1914) translated the English constituion and wrote on the causes of progress of the British, on principles of law and social solidarity. His brother S. Zaghloul (1857-1927) led the Egyptian liberal revolution on the borderline between religious reform and constitutional liberalism. A.L. Al-Sayed (1872-1963) renewed Al-Tahtawi's effort with more linkage to Western sources of liberalism in Greece. M. H. Heikal (1888-1956) and M. Fahmy (1878-1958) tried to find philosophical sources for liberal nationalism. T. Hussein (1889-1973) was the most prominent figure representing this trend. The ideal type of culture for Egypt is Western liberal culture. Egypt is more linked historically and culturally to Western Mediterranean culture than to the Eastern one.

In Syria, the same trend appeared, with A.F. Al-Shidiaq (1805-1887). Cultural liberalism is not absolute, since it is

limited by socialism under the influence of Christian socialism in England. His critique of religious authority and sacerdocy made him a new Christian Voltaire of the East in spite of his defence of the Kalifate against Orabi's revolution. In Tunisia, Kh. Al-Tunsi(1810-1890) played the same role as Al-Tahtawi in Egypt. He compared political systems, in both the Muslim and European worlds, extending his remarks not only to Egypt but also to the whole Muslim world. Positive aspects in Western political systems, such as freedom, democracy and progress, are Islamic ideals. Modern sciences, urbanism, agriculture, and industry are major components of Islamic culture, not a monopoly of the West. In Turkey, Medhat Pacha (1822-1883), called the father of liberals, reformed Kalifate regions in Balcan, Baghdad, Syria and Izmir. He participated in the downfall of the Sultans for constitutional rule based on democracy and mutual consultation between the ruler and the ruled.

Arab nationalism was another school of socio-political thought, especially in Syria and Lebanon, more radical and completely secular. R. Hassoun (1825-1880) and f. Marrash (1835-1874) transposed from Western thought liberty, equality, justice, social and political democracy, and liberation from medieval despotism. They criticized socio-political circumstances in the Ottoman Empire, calling the Arabs to liberate themselves from the Turkish yoke. The first asked the help of the Russians and the British, while the second based his call for liberation on the evolutionist theory, looking for the origins of creatures, societies, states, and civilizations. G.D. Al-Halabi (1836-1829) shared, these same ideals.

Arab nationalism sometimes leans on nationalism more than on liberalism, motivated by the desire to separate from Ottoman Empire and to find a unifying alternative in Arabism, without falling into the sectarianism already threatening Lebanon. Most of the representatives of this trend are Christians of Lebanon such as N. Al-Yazigi (1800-1871), B. Al-Bustani (1819-1883), I. Al-Yazigi (1847-1906), N. Azouri (1916), S. Al-Bustani (1856-1925), N. Fares (1856- 1900). They were all against religious fanaticism, calling for a return to the Arab heritage of tolerance and brotherhood. The study of Arabic language and literature flourished, and new Arabic language dictionaries were written. All Arabs belonged to the same fatherland. Knowledge was a deep motivation in all human beings, unifying all Arabs if sectarianism separated them. A new common education was necessary for the masses as well as for the elite, to form a new secular and national society. Arab societies participated in the formulation and in the realization of this trend. In practice, new secret societies were founded for fear of Turkish persecution, calling for Arab independence. Its political blueprint included the independence of Syria, unified with most of Lebanon, Arabic language as the official language of the country, cancellation of censorship and national military service. The Arab league or the League of the Arab Nation, founded in 1904 by N. Azouri, was the first to call for one independent modern Arab State, based on secular nationalism and science. Many other societies continued calling for Arab nationalism. The first Arab congress, held in Paris (1913) formalized the whole movement in such principles as the reform

of the Ottoman Empire, Arab autonomy within the Empire, and sharing in its rule, central authority in each Arab region, Arabic language as the official language, and national military service.

The movement continued in this century, finding new incentives, from history by S. Al-Husari (1879-1968) and from culture by M. Aflaq (1910-1989). The first combined history with sociology and education. He showed the origins of regional nationalism and its limits, arguing with its representatives in Egypt and Lebanon, and distinguishing between Arab nationalism and European nationalism. The second identified Arab nationalism with Islam as the Arab religion. Arab nationalism is based on three principles: unity, socialism, and freedom. And a political party, the "Arab Socialist Renaissance Party", was founded in order to implement the ideology in practice. The party now, in two different opposing fractions, rules in Syria and Iraq.

The major motivation in socio-political thought was the establishment of independent modern States, or one Arab State, due to the weakness of the central power in Istanbul. However, the same phenomenon of degradation of religous reform exists also in socio-political thought, a gradual weakness from the first to the fifth generation, from Al-Tahtawi to the New-Wafd party in Egypt, from Kh. Al-Tunsi to the New-Destour party in Tunisia, from N. Azouri to the practice of the Arab Socialist Renaissance party in Syria and Iraq. Al-Tahtawi conceived the modern State as the vehicle of modernization through the public sector and State socialism. The new-Wafd party preserves the old

liberalism, conceived as a capitalist, laissez-faire, the economy depending largely on the private sector. Al-Tunsi transposed modern ideas of enlightenment onto Islamic law while the new Destour party broke Islamic law, for example regarding fast-breaking in Ramadan and reform of family law. N. Azouri called for one Arab independent State, and the practice of the Arab socialist party made two Arab nations adhering to the same ideology, Syria and Iraq, into antagonists.

Another phenomenon can be observed, that of set-backs in the life of the same author. He begins as a liberal secularist, and ends as a conservative religious defender, due to external or internal factors, to socio-political circumstances or to traditional and historical elements. Al-Tahtawi pursued his line of thought till the end, in spite of his exile to Sudan. However, A. Abd Al-Razek (1925) and Kh. M. Khaled, on the borderline between reformism and liberalism, repented their early secularism and returned to the rule of Islam and the necessity of an Islamic State.

The importance of socio-political liberalism appears as a linkage between the three main currents in modern Islamic thought. Religious reform adopted liberal ideals. Liberalism was transposed on to Islamic law. Scientific secularism is a liberal model. It is clear that socio-political liberalism extends over the two other currents, deriving its sources from Islamic tradition or from Western culture. It expresses a real need for the Muslim World in transition from tradition to modernity. Some authors are on the borderline between religious reform and sociopolitical liberalism such as K. Amin (1862 - 1908), the disciple of M. Abdou and women's liberation

founder, and Al-Aqqad (1889 -1964) the disciple of S. Zaghloul, the Egyptian nationalist leader and Islamic writer.

The cultural stand of socio-political thought is eclecticism. It selects from Islamic tradition and Western culture what satisfies the present needs. The tradition is neither absolutely positive, as is the case in integrism, nor absolutely negative, as viewed by Western secularism. In the tradition, there are different alternatives: anthropomorphism and transcendence, predestination and free will, faith and reason. The same alternatives exist in the West. The criterion of choice is the needs of the present societies. If they need reason and free will, they find the satisfaction of their needs, first in their own tradition, and second in Western tradition, reading that tradition in its own terms. Contemporary Islamic philosophy is, mainly, the outcome of such dialectics between the tradition of the self and the modernity of the other.

IV - Secular Scientific Thought

Secular scientific thought is the third trend in modern Islamic thought, carried on, first, by Arab Christians from Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt and then followed by Muslim thinkers, especially in Egypt. Sh. Shmayel (1850-1917), a Lebanese doctor, is the founder of this trend. He popularized Darwin's theory of evolution, interpreted by Buchner, a combination of Darwinism and materialism. He was a partisan of the Ottoman decentralized administrative party. However, he adopted a natural philosophy coming out of the natural sciences, as only sciences are capable of making progress in human societies. Philosophy, education, art, sociology, psychology,

anthropology, economics, law, even metaphysics, including religion and religious sciences, especially theology, are all, in his view natural sciences. Natural philosophy is useful for society. It offers a philosophical view of the origin of the universe, helping man to understand his situation in the cosmos. It also has a practical use in making progress such as occurred in the West, and it has a political use in knowing one's rights and duties. Shmayel attacks despotism and calls for revolution. He advocates a socialist society and an international community based on freedom and justice. Even language can be universal, such as scientific language. A modern State can never be founded on political despotism or religion. Authority in society emerges from social contract, the basis of an ideal republican electoral regime, opposed to a royal, absolute or relative despotism.

F. Anton (1872-1922) shared the same ideas coming out of natural philosophy. He translated Renan's "life of Jesus," some parts of his "Origins of Christianity," and conversations between Nietzsche and Tolstoy. He defended secularism and a separation between religion and State. The purposes of these two authorities are different and even contradictory. Religion aims at culture and virtue according to scriptures, forcing others to adopt its doctrines and values, while the State protects individual freedoms granted by the constitution. Religion insists on distinctions between religions, while the State considers all religions equal. Religions cover the hereafter, while the State covers the world. A religious State is weak, since it uses religion for popular consent, while the secular State is strong in the face of hard realities. Religious authority ends in war, while a secular

State is more eager for peace. Like Shmayel, who tried to find indigenous sources for his natural philosophy in the Qur'an, F. Anton found them in Aver-roes, as interpreted by Renan, a rationalist materialist philosopher. Reform socialism, as a transitional form of socialism, is viable. However. scientific socialism in the future is the only means leading to freedom, equality, justice, brotherhood, prosperity, happiness, mutual understanding, tolerance, solidarity, and peace for all nations.

Secular scientific thought was popularized by Y. Sarrouf (1852-1927) in agriculture, industry, engineering, medicine, and mathematics, with a special stress on botany and local plants. The development of modern technology in the West was compared with its position in the Arab and Muslim world. Linguistic, literary, and religious sciences are not enough for social development and historical renaissance. Others like S. Al-Bustani (1856-1925), A. Al-Rihani (1876-1940), and N. Hadd (1870-1954), popularized natural science, history, and scientific theories. S. Musa (1887-1958) continued the tradition and visualized all modern thinkers in Western culture as master educators, including Darwin, Weissman, Marx, Nietzsche, Voltaire, Freud, Renan, Dewey. None of them comes from the Islamic traditition. He populariszd modern ideas to effect a cultural shock in Islamic traditional culture such as the psycho-socio-historical origin of the concept of God, psychoanalysis, and evolution. I. Mazhar (1891-1962) also propagated Darwin's theory, applying it to religion and criticizing all synergetic reformist trends. Z.N. Mahmoud (1904-1993) began as a logical positivist, thinking that logical positivism would help in knowing

how to use language and how to practice analytical and scientific methods. Afterwards, he began to apply logical positivism to modernize Islamic traditions and Arabic thought, criticizing Arabic language as leaning towards subjectivity. Arabic thought postulates a conceptual dualism between heavens and earth, the other World and this world, religion and science. Arabic thought can be modernized, once it becomes more rational, scientific and open for dialogue. F. Zakaria (born 1927), on the border line between scientific and liberal thought, stresses the importance of scientific thought against mythical and religious thought, and defends the natural position of man in the cosmos. The model of scientific thought is also natural science.

In secular scientific thought, the same phenomenon of gradual deradicialisation occurred, from the first generation to the current (fifth), from Sh. Shmayel till F. Zakaria, from the propagation of scientific thought from within and without, to the propagation of scientific thought only from without and the criticism of it within, from linking civilization and modernity to the Qur'an (Shmayel) and to Averroes (F. Anton), Ibn Tofayl and Ikhwan Al-Safa, to linking modernity only to logical positivism, and scientific determinism (Reichenbach). The same phenomenon of setbacks also occurs. If Shmayel, Anton, Haddad and Musa pursued their secular scientific thought from the beginning till the end, I. Mazhar switched from Darwinism to "Islam forever." Z.N. Mahmoud switched his interest from the propagation of logical positivism to the critique of tradition and the renewal of Arab thought, from the outside to the inside, at least changing data with a rational, analytical and scientific view. F.Zakaria also switched

his interest from the propagation of Western scientific thought to the critique of Islamic Fundamentalism.

Secular scientific thought takes a critical stand toward tradition. Tradition is obsolete, related to the past. It does not correspond any more to the needs of the present Muslim societies. It is better to adopt modern culture, usually identical to the Western one, the universal culture assimilated by all peoples and societies. Between religious reform and scientific secularism, there are certain dialectics of negation and affirmation. Religious reform defends the tradition and criticizes the West. Scientific secularism, on the contrary, criticizes tradition and defends the West. Both are radical stands in spite of their differences in negation and affirmation, each is a reaction to the other.

The three major trends in modern Arab and Islamic thought deal with three fronts: first, the tradition still persisting after fourteen Centuries, providing the masses with its theoretical World view and practical norms; second, the West, a new challenge for tradition, a second source of knowledge and action for almost two centuries, especially for the elite. This second, separate, outside source created secularism in secular scientific thought and modernism in religious reform and in socio-political thought; third, the reality of the Muslim world, its needs and exigencies which are behind the reform of tradition or the initiation of modernity.

These three fronts are also three dimensions of time. The tradition is anchored in the past and coming out of it. Western modernity is aiming at the future, projecting forward its hopes and

ideals. The reality of the Muslim World is the present, open to the legacy of the past and tending towards the possibilities of the future.

Since tradition is deeply rooted in time, it is overwhelming in contemporary Islamic thought more than Western tradition. That is why these three fronts are unequal in length and consequently in depth of consciousness. The first is longer, deeply rooted in national consciousness. The second is shorter in time, and consequently lies on the surface of national consciousness. The third is absent from the given cultural alienation of national consciousness, once to the past and once to the future. From the first front comes mostly mass culture, from the second comes elite culture, and from the third comes only the suffering and pains expressed by poets and writers.

V - Philosophical Professional Currents and Research Projects Today

There are two kinds of philosophical reflections in the contemporary Muslim world. First, professional philosophy by professors of philosophy in universities, mostly through textbooks. Coming out of an era of ignorance when philosophy was still under accusation, since Al-Ghazali and Ibn Al-Salah, a perspective of useless and threat end faith, philosophy began to find its way into modern Arab and Muslim thought, reintroducing reason and living experiences as criteria for thinking, and supported through contacts with the West. Philosophy became a subject in high school curriculum, including logic, psychology, ethics, and sociology. Students have been sent abroad for graduate studies. The founding of

universities and departments of philosophy helped in transforming philosophy into a discipline.

Philosophy began with a triple mission: editions of texts, philosophical studies in different languages, and translations from Western philosophy. Many ancient Arabic texts were edited, covering whole areas of philosophy, theology, mysticism and jurisprudence. Local histories of philosophy were written for Greek, medieval, and modern Western philosophy, as well as for Islamic philosophy.

It is difficult to speak about philosophical schools, trends or even currents in this professional philosophy. However, the choice of texts translated, authors to be written about, systems to be exposed, or methods to be adopted, reveals a certain state of mind or attitude which might be classified as follows:

1- Rationalism was advocated by some professors hailing reason versus tradition, mysticism and superstition, finding their roots in ancient Mu'tazilism and Averroism, as well as in Western rationalism, Cartesianism (Tawil, Qasim). It can be extended to Spinozism (Hanafi) or Hegelianism (Imam).

2- Idealism, or spiritualism, was adopted by certain professsors (0. Amin, Z.Arsouzi), a certain rationalism tinted with intuitionism, called “consciencism" (Jowaniya) or immanentism (Rahmaniya), from the word Rahim (wom), giving priority to inside versus outside, to intuitionism versus abstraction, similar to Bergson or to Cartesianism newly interpreted through Bergson.

3- Materialism, or Marxism, was also adopted as a reaction to excess of spiritualism and idealism, reaching sometimes the limits of superstition and irrationalism. Since in traditional societies materialism is seen as atheism, anarchism, and nihilism, it was difficult for this to be adopted directly. Marxism, or dialectical materialism, was a better choice, since it is linked to social science and to methodology (M. Wahba).

4- Scientism was also advocated as an efficient tool for the reform of superstitions and unscientific societies. Science is usually natural, scientific method, philosophy of science, scientific logic, logical positivism, methodology, mathematics, scientific worldview (A.M. Mosharafa, M. Nazif, H. Tukan, Z.N. Mahmoud. A. Sabra, Abu Rayan, M. Th. al-Findi. F. Zakaria, M. Zeidan. S. Qonsou), a useful alternative to rhetoric and passion.

5- Neo-Thomism was adopted by some Christian professors, combining reason with nature, God and grace, predestination and free will, reason and mystery, transcendence and anthropomorphism (Y. Karam, Ch. Malek, G. Sh. Anawati), a philosophy of equilibrium acceptable enough in a believing society.

6- Neo-realism was also chosen as a combination between idealism and realism, between spiritualism and naturalism, between time, space and Diety (Y. Heweidi), S. Alexander, R.B. Parry and other new realists became well-known.

7- Phenomenology was also used as philosophy and as method (H. Hanafi), a reconstruction of Western human sciences and analysis of living experiences to solve the methodological

crisis of deductive and inductive methods and the subsequent crisis in human sciences between formalism and empiricism.

8- Existentialism finally appeared in the writings of some professors (Z. Ibrahim, A. Badawi), whether believing existentialism (Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Marcel), or unbelieving existentialism (Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Nietzsche). The loss of the individual and the desire for human freedom are two major motivations for such choice.

Second, there are also important research projects, gaining more and more popularity via philosophers trying to link the three trends in modern Arab and Muslim thought and the professional philosophy of university professors. They are thinkers and professors, reformers, and academicians, practitioners and theoreticians, citizens and scholars. After the defeat of 1967, they went beyond professional philosophy as an academic career, to conceive systematic research projects as a means to victory, critical of the self and of the other. Most of them, if not all, begin with a method or a doctrine from the West, using it as a tool or as a link, by and through which past tradition or actual crisis is analyzed or seen. Each thinks, more or less, that his methodological or doctrinal choice is motivated by the needs of his time and the desire to contribute to the new renaissance of the Arab and Muslim World after the several setbacks which this World suffered since the colonization of the last century and the recolonization of this century.

Most contemporary Western philosophies are reflected in these research projects of structuralism and post-structuralism,

Marxism and liberal Marxism, phenomenology, personalism, nationalism, and so on. They embrace methodology. systematic philosophy, social science and political philosophy. There are no direct works on Western philosophy as such, but only its use as a method of analysis or as a means of understanding the tradition. The titles of some projects give both external tools and internal research data, such as Islamic Personalism (Lahbabi), "Arab Marxism" (Laroui), and Materialistic Trends in Arab Islamic Philosophy (H. Muruwa). Other titles, concentrating on the method, include Tradition and Modernism (Hanafi), The Permanent and the Changing (Adonis), Continuity or Discontinuity? (M. Kasem), and Project of a New Vision of Arab Thought (Tizini). Other projects take their titles from the actual crisis, such as Critique of the Arab Mind (Al-Jabri), Modernization of the Arab Mind (H. Sa'ab), "Double Critique (Khatibi), and "Social Dialectics" (Abd Al- Malek).

It is difficult to enumerate such projects, since some of them are total and some are partial. Many of them are still linked to professional philosophy, such as (Juwaniya) (0. Amin) or ethical idealism (T. Tawil), logical positivism (Z.N. Mahmoud), New Thomism (Y. Karam), Existentialism (Badawi, Z. Ibrahim). However, six major integral research projects came to the forefront of professional philosophy and are still stimulating major intellectual activity. The authors are still alive except one (H. Muruwa) who was assassinated in Lebanon.

1- Critique of Arab Mind, by Al-Jabri, is the most spectacular project, since reason inherited from the past is

dependent on scripture (Ash'arism) or internal illumination (mysticism). The critique would free reason from literalism and irrationalism in order to become pure demonstrative and scientific reason. Arab Mind has its genesis, eloquence (Bayan), theosophy (Irfan), and demonstration (Burhan). It also has a similar triadic structure whether in epistemology or in politics (Belief, Tribe, Spoils), similar to some old fashioned racial classification of people's minds. "Modernisation of Arab Mind" by H. Saab refers essentially to Islamic tradition still adopted in national culture.

2- Critique of Epistemological Mind (M. Arkoun) is written in French, concentrating on linguistics and theory of knowedge, and applied to scriptures and tradition. Linguistics as a science was found helpful in showing the degree of progress in philosophy. From linguistics came a new renaissance of human and social sciences. The Qur'an is a language, an Islamic tradition and as a whole is a corpus. The Arab mind needs to know how to read itself and how to read its tradition. It needs epistemology, not ontology or axiology. The double critique of A. Al-Khatibi is not only directed to Islamic tradition but to Western also. Critique is a double-edged weapon, working two ways, in the self and in the other. Comparative linguistics is also a tool to affirm that Arabic language is at the very source of all other languages. Consequently, Arabism is an absolute value (A.F. Kheshem).

3- Project of a New Vision of Arabic Thought (T. Tizini) is a whole history in twelve volumes of Arabic thought, written from a historical materialistic view point, describing the genesis of this thought, coming from below, not jumping from above, born on

earth, not descending from heaven. “Materialistic Trends in Arabic Islamic Philosophy" (H. Muruwa two volumes) is Islamic classical philosophy discovering materialistic trends from within, not from without. “Critique of Religious Thought" (S. G. Al-Azm) criticizes religion obstructing scientific thought and used as the opium of the people. Contemporary Arab Ideology (Laroui) exposed Arab or liberal Marxism, a certain kind of Marxism adapted to the historical circumstances of the Arab world. Liberalism is still in a transitional historical stage, from tradition to modernism, liberty as a means, social justice as an end. The middle class is still the vehicle of modernization, via its class consciousness, and it can express the interests of peasants and workers, not necessarily the bourgeois class sold to the grand bourgeoisie.

4- “Islamic Personalism" (Lahbabi) tries to discover the human being from within Islamic tradition, not only from without. Since the individual is absent in tradition as well as in mass culture and socio-political practice, it may be possible to rediscover him in philosophy, ethics, mysticism or jurisprudence, since human liberty is a struggle for liberation, an aposteriori acquisition, not an apriori concept. Bergson was linked to Mounier. Muslim personality is a historical being, created in the past and tending to the future (H. Djait).

5- “Tradition and Modernism" (Hanafi) is another project conceiving modernisation from within not from without, departing from the inherent potentiality of the tradition to modernize itself. If the actual need of the Arab and Muslim World is to deepen its spiritual legacy, then authentic research

and criticism of the stereotyped images from Western orientalism, based on racialism and the distinction between Semite and Arian minds via methodology of jurisprudence, can provide Arabs and Muslims with authentic tradition (M. Abd Al-Razek, H. Hanafi). The project contains three parts: first, the reconstruction of classical sciences, rational scriptural science (theology, philosophy, mysticism, and jurisprudence), pure scriptural sciences (Qur'an, Tafisr, Hadith, Sira, and Fiqh) and pure rational sciences (mathematical and physical sciences), as well as human and social sciences. Second, a critique of Western tradition and the foundation of a new science, "Occidentalism" by opposition to “Orientalism”, in which the West is taken as an object of research. Third, a theory of interpretation which permits reading reality in the texts and the texts in reality for a new hermeneutics, departing from the holy scriptures.

6- “Social Dialectics” (Abd Al-Malek) is a socio-cultural and political project based on such major concepts as specificity, historical super-value, time, State, army, intellectual endogenous creativity, and national renaissance. The Arab and Muslim World is a part of the World order, a cultural circle distinct from two other cultural circles, the India-China circle and the Western-Europe and American circle. In the first circle, ancient civilizations and old States originated in China and Egypt. The State is a tool of modernization. The army is the crux of the State, the charismatic leader is its soul. Intellectuals, philosophers, writers, and scientists are components of the State. The ideology is national renaissance, the transformation of this cultural circle to political ideology against Western hegemony

and for cultural independence. Linked to the East, the Arab and Muslim World makes one block against the West.

Contemporary philosophy in the Muslim World over two centuries means these three stages: first, modern Islamic thought and its three trends and five generations ; second, contemporary Arab and Muslim professional philosophy since the foundation of modern universities, mostly linked to Western philosophy; third, present research projects combining first and second stages in Ideologies of Renaissance (religious reform, socio-political thought and scientific secularism) with professional philosophy, for a second hopeful renaissance.

VI. Conclusion: Limits of Contemporary Islamic Philosophy

Contemporary Islamic thought is still out of touch with contemporary Islamic realities. It does not sufficiently face the major challenges of the Muslim World. The distance between theoretical apparatus and hard reality is still too big, in spite of all efforts of religious reform, socio-political liberalism, and secular scientific thought. The weapon used is much weaker than the enemy faced. These Muslim hard realities, still refractory to modern Islamic thought, are seven:

1 - The first challenge is the decolonization and liberation of occupied territories by Western and Eastern powers, including the Zionist occupation of Palestine. It is not enough to call for liberation of occupied territories as a religious duty. Land can also be a part of the credo, since God is God of heaven and earth. Till now, Ash'arite creed is repeated, the theory of essence, attributes and acts of God, which was conceived against classical

religious sects, dualism and trinitarianism, during the early centuries of Islam . Yet a theology of land can be more efficient for the liberation of the occupied territories. Till now, land appears as a value in liberation and poems of land, songs of land, theater of land, not yet in theology, in philosophy, in jurisprudence or in mysticism. The old tradition helps in such a new effort, since physics is not distinct from metaphysics in theology and philosophy, since God and the World are one in mysticism, and since Divine revelation is applied in society as law. Romanticism of the land in Western culture can also provide a second source of inspiration.

2- Freedom of all Muslim peoples against internal oppression and despotic rule is a second major challenge. Muslims have been colonized by foreigners from outside and dominated by their princes and kings from inside. The highest gain in contemporary Islamic philosophy was to criticize traditional fatalism and to reject predestination (Al-Afghani, Iqbal), to switch from (Kasb) theory (Al-Ash'ari), a certain kind of occaisonalism, to “libre arbitre” theory (Mu'tazilites), as M. Abdou did in his 'Treatise on Unity". A complete and radical theory of free choice is not yet conceived. A choice based on rational wavering between alternatives or on self-determination. Unity of God (Tawhid) is not yet equal to freedom. In Islamic tradition, there are components of freedom in theology (Mu’tazilizm) and in law, in the obligation of revolt against an unjust ruler. Theories of freedom in Western culture are multiple and appeal to the needs of the Muslim world.

3- Social justice has been simply advocated in contemporary Islamic thought. Socialism, according to Al-Afghani, is the essence of religion. Violence is permitted from the peasants. M. Al-Siba'i in Syria wrote “Socialism in Islam.” S. Qutb in Egypt also wrote "Social Justice" in Islam, and "The Struggle Between Islam and Capitalism". Al-Tahtawi advocaed a State oriented economy and a strong public sector. Sh. Shmayel, S. Musa, and I. Mazhar defended socialism and even Marxism. However, religious thought is accepting socialism as a social and moral practice, not as a theory. In theory it is considered as materialism, nihilism, and communism (Al-Afghani). It is also State socialism, not popular socialism (Al-Tahtawi). It is also Marxism as Western political ideology (S. Musa). Socialism, up to now, is not yet part of the Islamic creed, linked to the eminent ownership of God, with human ownership as a social function, and work as the only source of value, given the absolute prohibition of usury. Money does not generate money by itself without human effort, work being sweat, and the right of the ruler being to confiscate and to nationalize exploiting capital. A productive public sector such as agriculture and industry cannot be private ownership. Public welfare has absolute priority over individual interest. Different kinds of socialism are offered by Western culture and can be taken as auxiliary examples for strengthening one's self.

4- The unification of the Muslim World has always been advocated in the name of Pan-Islamism in religious reform, Pan-Arabism in scientific secularism, and in the name of the new Kalifate in socio-political liberalism. However, sectarian and

civil wars followed. The concept of unity, till now, as creed, is not included as a basis for political unity. Precedents existed in the unity of Arabia, unity of central Asia, and unity of India. Western culture provides other examples from the link between the metaphysics of unity and political unity in Germany.

5- Westernization is still overwhelming in the Muslim world. A crisis of identity is salient in many of its parts. All modern thinkers tackle the issue of tradition and modernity. All of them agree on the importance of the dialectic between the self and the other. Most of the appeals stay on the level of slogans and pure intentions. Therefore, the reconstruction of the tradition and its renewal preserve national character from the split between religious conservatism and Western secularism. De-westernisation helps in the liberation of the self from its domination by the other. It brings back the West to its natural borders and proper size. The preservation of identity is completed by the de-alienation of the self. In contemporary Islamic thought, till now, the West is seen as a model of modernization. The rejection of imitation as a source of knowledge in Islamic tradition and its reasons for creativity in Western culture can be new components for self-identity.

6- Development, till now, in modern Islamic thought, is not a major issue. It is left to economists and planners. All efforts for development were limited because the notion itself is absent from national culture, the heir of Islamic tradition. Islam is still conceived as a religion of eternal felicity under the influence of Al-Ghazali, along with the commonplace notion of religion inherited

from World religions. Nature, till now, is private. Physics, inherited from past tradition, is metaphysics put upside down. The notion of development has been borrowed from developmental philosophy in the West. It did not mobilize the masses. However, a similar notion can be found in the traditional development of revelation into different phases, from Judaism, to Christianity, to Islam; development of law from the Torah, to the Gospel, to the Qur'an; internal development of the Shari'a itself, known as abrogation; external development of fiqh, through reasoning, Ijtihad. Futurology can be done by the reconstruction of eschatology from the other World to this world. Self-reliant development was also absent in contemporary Islamic thought because of its absence in the inherited tradition, based essentially on reliance of the whole world, man, society, and nature, on God. However, in the Islamic tradition, naturalism exists within Mu'tazilism. In the Western tradition, self reliance became a whole tradition.

7- Finally, the lack of mass mobilization was the stumbling block in the way of development. Planning was the monopoly of the State, implemented by bureaucrats, and imposed on the masses. Mass participation was absent, since democracy itself was absent from political regimes. However, mass mobilization can be done by traditional components such as the feeling of the message, individual responsibility, community vocation, doing good on earth, sense of solidarity, people as the origin of power, and active elite. Revolt of the masses and education of the masses are major concepts in Western political culture.

FACTS AND VALUES

An Islamic Approach

1 - Introduction

The apparent duality between facts and values, description and evaluation, Sein and Sein-sollen, may suggest by intuition a separation between the two. The conjunction "and" is just an external connection which affirms the separation. Moreover, this separation is legalized by the logical distinction between fact-judgment and value-judgment.

Since Islam is not only religion but also culture, this contribution will give an example or a model of a Fact-Value problem in a religious culture based on identity more than on separation. An Islamic approach means primarily the analysis of Islamic data, whether in philosophical classical sciences or in the Qur'an, the first source of Islam. A comparative study with Western ethics as a system of reference would facilitate the understanding of Islamic data.

There are four major Islamic sciences: Theology, Philosophy, Mysticism and Jurisprudence. Each transforms the new given, namely revelation into an object of science. Theology formulates a credo, philosophy expands it to a Weltanschauung, Mysticism describes “Itenerarium mentis Deum,” Jurisprudence deduces particular judgments from primary norms of behavior. In spite of the distinction between these four disciplines, they all agree on one intuition, the complete identity between Fact and Value. A Fact is a realized Value, and a Value is a potential or an ideal Fact.

II- Theological Identity between Facts and Values: God as Value

The Creed is structured on eight articles. All of them reveal the same intuition, the identity between is and ought, not only as an ideal and possible identity, but also as a real description of human status in the World, not only as a hope, a wishful thought expressed in a subjunctive mode, but also as reality, expressed in an indicative mode. The First four are contained in the theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts of God. The second four are related to Eschatology in a wider sense, including prophecy, resurrection, faith and works, and the State. If the first four are rational and apodictic, the second are scriptural and hypothetical. There is no certainty without an argument of reason.

1 - Before the description of the Essence of God, the proofs of His Existence come first. Since man is living in the World, see ing it changing, this contingency in the world leads to the Necessary Being. Meditations on fact lead to the discovery of values. Contingency, affirmed by change, is a fact, existence of God is a value. The cosmological and the physico-teleological arguments effectuate this passage from fact to value.

The Essence of God, identical to His Existence, reveals the Unity between value and fact. The ontological argument is not only epistemological but also axiological. This unity is the first attribute of the Essence. The Eternity of God, God has no beginning and no end in time, Second and Third Attributes of the Essence reveals the Universal Value for all peoples, from the beginning of mankind till the end. The Transcendence of God, He

has no place or resemblance, Fourth and Fifth Attributes, indicates the Formal Value or the categorial imperative. The Unity of God, the Sixth Attribute, refers to the unity of Value.

In the hierarchy of Values, God appears as the Supreme Value.

2 - If God per se has these six Attributes, God per (aliud) has seven other attributes: Omniscience, Omnipotence, life, Hearing, Sight, Speech and Will. The first three indicate that life has two reasons, pure reason (science) and practical reason (power). Hearing and Sight stress the experimental type of science. Will is a concretization of Power. Life is a Value-Fact attribute. If science is a value, power is the actualization of this Value in a fact. Hearing and Sight would also be the actualization of Science as Value in the experience. If Power is Value, Will is the realization of this Value as Fact in the World.

3- Moreover, God has ninety-nine holy names, which are indeed models of human values and norms of behavior. They have to be assimilated and transformed to actual life. Some of them are- Creator, Inventor, Wise man, Expert, Giver, Faithful, Misericordious, Compassionate, Pardoner, Sublime, Holy, Peaceful, Container, High, Strong, Just, Judge. Some are theoretical, such as Wise, others are practical, such as Giver, and the third group is related to judgment, such as Just.

4 - This theory of Essence and Attributes is described as the theory of Unity, Tawhid. The theory of Acts is a theory of Justice. Tawhid becomes a value and Justice is a fact. The only value of Unity is its realization in Justice as fact. Theory of Justice, Theodicy, implies the Freedom of man and the autonomy of his

reason. Man is capable of doing. His moral actions are based on his “libre arbitre.” Since moral actions require perception of good and bad, man is not only free but also rational. Reason is the foundation of Freedom. Both Freedom and reason are Value-Facts or facts-Values. They are factualised Values or "Valuable" Facts.

5- God spoke. His words are communicated to Mankind through the prophets. The Word of God is a Value, prophecy is a fact. God spoke several times in different periods, according to the degree of development of human consciousness. Every prophet liberates human consciousness from one or more kinds of oppression: natural, social, political, moral. He destroys and maintains in the same time, according to the double meaning of Aufheben. The accomplishment of prophecy is not only a historical fact, but also a moral value. It means the total liberation of human consciousness from all yokes to obtain the final evidence of reason and the autonomy of the will. Miracles are not proofs of a true prophet. Even if they were historical facts they are not moral values. They come into contradiction with the two long-time awaited values, evidence of reason and autonomy of Will. Reason conceives natural law, and will uses it to dominate nature and perform action in the world. Moreover, once revelation becomes a historical fact, it is transmitted as a value from generation to generation as oral or written transmission. Revelation becomes a source of norms, a standard of behavior.

6- Eschatology, as it is known in every religion, is a teleology of hope, a desire to transcend events of the time and to overcome injustice in the world. Since hope is a value, it requires

an actualization in a fact and becomes happening events in the future, such as resurrection, judgment, justice, worthyness (Istihiqaq), sanctions. reward and punishment. The power of hope as a value creates eschatology as a fact. However, the description of the trial scenes of the last judgment is made metaphorically. A metaphor is a common language in the logic of persuasion. The analogy between the future event and the present event comes from the power of conviction in a moral law.

7- If faith is a value, action is a fact, since faith without action is void and vain, a non-actualized value becomes abstract and formal. Action is a "factualized" value just as faith is a potential fact. The purpose of this unity between faith and action, words and deeds, thoughts and feelings, ideas and emotions is the creation of an autonomous personality in which value and fact are one.

8- The head of the State is chosen according to values embodied in him, such as knowledge, justice, power, piety. Only such moral values make him eligible for political leadership. A mere political leadership without these conditional values becomes a usurpation of power. Neither heredity nor designation are means of nomination, because they are not moral values. Heredity is blood relationship and designation is an authoritarian decision. Both are against free choice as a value. If the leader becomes a mere fact without a value, he is first advised diplomatically. If the advice is not enough, a formal order to follow the value is issued. If both means are not sufficient, a real revolt of the masses is necessary to overthrow him. If in history, during the course of time, there is a common and gradual

degradation of leadership, the value becoming less and the fact becoming more, primitivism, revivalism or a movement of “retour aux sources” becomes necessary to catch the original model, namely the unity between fact and value in political leadership.

III- Philosophical Identity between Description and Evaluation: Reason as Value

The identity between Fact and Value appeared also in philosophy. After the transmission of Greek philosophy as a fact, it has been assimilated, restructured and expressed as a value. The parts were completed in the whole, the imperfect became perfect and the additional is reshaped to a just measure.

Philosophy contained three major parts: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics. Sometimes Physics and Metaphysics become one science and the third one would be social sciences: anthropology, ethics, sociology, politics or history. That means man and society.

Logic is a normative science. It protects human reason from errors. Logic is an "ought" which controls Thought, which "is". Logic plays the same normative role as revelation, logic in thought and revelation in Thought and Action. Historical knowledge through narratives is included as a part of the data of demonstration (second analytics). It carries revelation as a fact to be embodied into logic as a value.

Physics and Metaphysics are conceived in a hierarchical way, between the absolute perfection and the absolute imperfection. Matter is not only a fact but also and at the same time a value. According to the famous theory of emanation, the

world as a fact proceeded from the perfection as a value. Factual graduation in the procession is ipso facto a hierarchy of values. The first emanation has more value than the second, the second has less value than the first. The supra-lunar world has more value than the sub-lunar one.

In the sub-lunar world, composed of Form and Matter, man appears at the height of perfection. Downwards come the animal, the planet, the four elements and finally the minerals. Even the Four elements are unequal in value according to their movement-upward (fire, air), or downward (water and earth). The vegetal soul has less value than the animal soul, and both are less in value than the human soul. In the human soul cognition is more perfect than inclination and movement, shared by animal soul. Both are more perfect than nutrition, growth and generation, shared by the vegetal soul. Hierarchy of Being is identical to hierarchy of Value.

The theory of communication between active intellect and passive intellect symbolized the double transfusion between Fact and Value. The passive intellect is a fact. It becomes a value when it receives its knowledge from the active intellect, which is always a value-fact. In this theory, metaphysics as value and physics as fact are unified.

In ethics, the soul has three powers, rational (Logistikon), Tempestive (Thumos), and Volitive (Epithumetikon). Since each one is a fact, it has its own value. The three Facts correspond to the three Values: wisdom, courage and continence. The harmony between these three powers creates a fourth fact, justice (Dike).

Human life is not only a fact but also a value. It is not only physical life but also ethical life.

In the ideal society conceived by philosophers, the philosopher king is a symbol of this unity between Fact and Value. Leadership is a fact, a necessity for any social group. Wisdom is a Value, necessary for virtuous leadership. Society collapses if leadership as a fact is separated from Wisdom as a Value. In this case, the virtuous city disappears and the ignorant or vicious city takes over.

IV - Subjective (Emotional) Identity between Fact and Value: Pathos as Value

In mysticism, the same identity between fact and value appeared, whether in its birth or its structure. Mysticism took birth when fact and Value were separated in political leadership and in daily behavior. A revolutionary struggle led by an ideal leadership and community did not succeed in unifying again Fact and Value, in both leadership and daily life. The resistance became hopeless. Now and then, however, Mysticism appeared to escape from the Mundane fact and to maintain Value creating from it a new fact. The concentration on the ideal creates its own real. In a crisis, things appear on an emotional level. The concentration on the heart creates its own object.

Mysticism as structure is a way to God, a road to Divinity. The Final goal would be the unity of the Mystic with God. God is Value, the whole world, including the Mystic is a fact. Mysticism is the annihilation of this separation between God and the World, between Value and fact. The world without God is a mere fact. It

has no significance. In the beginning there was an indestructible tie between Value and fact, even before the creation of man. Because of the misuse of human freedom, the fall occurred. Mysticism tries to abolish this fall, to effectuate a counter-movement of return to the primary indestructible tie, and to cross through spiritual exercises, this distance between fact and value.

Mysticism in history followed three steps: moral (2nd and 3rd centuries A.H.), psychological (3rd and 4th centuries) and metaphysical (5th and 6th centuries). Mysticism began as normative behavior according to ideal standards of conduct, as a science of ethics. Afterwards, it was converted from outside to the inside, from the external world to the internal one, from the science of the organs to the science of the heart. Mysticism switched from ethics to psychology. Afterwards, it was exteriorized from the interior to the superior, from psychology to metaphysics. Mysticism as a historical course went from the exterior to the interior and from the interior to the superior. Mysticism as a road to God, outside of history, followed the same three-step path. The mystic begins with ethics to psychology and ends with metaphysics culminating in the union with God.

The most important step of the three is the second, the psychological one. The road to God is characterized by several double psychological state, which are neither values nor facts, but something in between, "un etat d'âme, Hal," One is passive, the other is active. The mystic goes from the passive to the active in one round, then from the active to the passive in a second round. This goes on till seven, nine, eleven or thirteen rounds. The

number is always singular, symbol of the Singularity and the Unity of God. These double psychological states are such as Fear-hope, drunkenness-awareness, absence-presence, estrangement-familarity, and loss-finding. This dialectic between negation and affirmation ends in one state, which is the complete absorption in God, the complete annihilation of human existence, a kind of Nirvana called Fana'.

The step, Maqam, is the transition from each round to another. If the psychological states are not under man's control the steps are. If the first are gifts from God, signs for his Grace, the second are obtained by human effort. Such steps are repentance, poverty, asceticism, piety, patience, reliance, resignation, thanks. Most of them are passive values in order to prepare one's self for a gradual and complete annihilation. Once the world becomes a fact and is lost as a value, a substitute-value comes in. God becomes a substitute-fact in the heart of the mystic. Once the journey comes to an end, not only Divine science appears in the heart of the mystic, but God Himself. God as a value-Fact becomes inherent in the mystic as a fact-value. The unity between God and man or the world symbolizes the unity between Value and Fact.

V - Practical Identity between Fact and Value: Praxis as Value

In Jurisprudence, the unity between fact and value is made in practical life. The Law is based on a double structure: Intentions and Actions. Since Law is given by God to man, both intentions and actions are either universal (Divine) or particular

(human). Universal Intentions are concreticized in the preservation of Five Value-facts or facts-values in human life, namely Life, Reason, Truth (Religious), Honor and Wealth. Life is in the same time a fact and a value. That is why the death penalty is decreed. Reason also is a fact-value. That is why alcoholics are forbidden. Truth, namely religion, is also a value-fact. There is something to be known with certitude and as universal knowledge, which does not differ from man to man, from time to time or from place to place. That is why paganism, polytheism, skepticism, agnosticism, and relativism are all pseudo-knowledge to struggle against. Both honor and wealth are also fact-values, one eidetic and the other material. That is why insults are prohibited, being assaults on one's honor. Theft is also prohibited as transgression on one's property.

Individual intentions are more simple. Intention is the value and action is the fact. Action as a fact is conditioned by its intention as a value. That is why all forms of casuistics are forbidden. An action based on bad conscience is only a fact without a value. The bad Will is never a source of a good action. Kant's ethics finds here its full splendor.

Rituals are not only factual "gesture" but also moral purification of the heart. The five pillars of Islam are not simple movements of the tongue, of the hand or of the body, but they carry values. The declaration of the unity of God "No gods except God" “La Ilaha illa Allah” is not only an utterance by the tongue but a double act of consciousness: first, the negation of all pseudo-gods which prevent the freedom of consciousness;

second, the affirmation of the Unity and the Transcendence of a Universal principle. Praying is not a factual movement of the body, but a concentration on the heart as a value. Fasting is not a simple abstention from nutrition during the day for health reasons, but a moral affirmation of the existence of the poor. Sharing one's wealth is not only a material redistribution of wealth, but a moral purification of the rich. Finally pilgrimage is not only a journey towards a place in time, but an annual meeting of humans to share common experiences and to issues collective decisions.

Universal Actions (prescriptions and proscriptions) are those actions done by God within the Law. In other words, they reveal the structure of the law as positive Law built in the world. Every action is structured in reality on five foundations: reasons (cause), conditions, obstacles (hindrances), capacities (idealistic or realistic forms of action), and authenticity. The reason is the cause for which a law is decreed. For example, loss of life would be the reason for the death penalty. The condition is a prerequisite of any action before its performance, for example, maturity as a condition for moral responsibility. The obstacle is a hindrance that prevents the application of the law in case of major force, for example, permission to drink alchol or to eat dead animals, in case of danger of death caused by thirst or by hunger. The capacity is the measure according to which the action is performed. No action can be performed beyond human physical capacity. In case of full and normal capacity, the idealistic and normative act is performed. But in case of feeble capacity or disability, a more realistic and exceptional form of

act is performed. Such exceptional forms are shortening the prayer or breaking the fast during a journey or in case of illness. Finally an authentic action is performed in good faith while an inauthentic action is performed in bad faith, such as making a journey to break the fast. In all these five Foundations of the positive law, the value is anchored in fact. The affirmation of value can not be on the account of fact. A value is a value because it maintains life as primary fact.

Individual Acts are performed according to five levels of behavior. Hierarchy of values corresponds to hierarchy of acts as practical facts in logic.

1 - The necessary positive act, Wajib, is an absolute must, a compulsory deed according to a positive imperative "do". In case of performance it generates a reward, but in case of failure it generates a punishment. Reward and punishment are not only in the other World but also in this World, as gains in case of doing and losses in case of not doing.

2 - A possible positive act, Mandub, is a probable act, an optional deed according to a positive recommendation. If it is done it generates a reward, if it is not done it does not generate any punishment. If the first act is a universal code, the second is a particular one, chosen freely according to one's aptitudes. It makes room for competition and individual differences in the accomplishment of moral values.

3 - The necessary negative act, Muharram, is an absolute must, not a negative imperative “do not,” contrary to the first act. If it is done it generates punishment, and if it is not done, it

generates reward. Sanctions are due given the effort spent in the case of doing or in the case of not doing.

4 - The possible negative act, Makruh, is a probable act, an optional deed according to a negative recommendation. If it is done, no punishment is required. If it is not done, it requires a reward due to the effort of abstaining. It is the counterpart of the second action, the possible positive act.

5 - The neutral act, Halal, Mubah, is a natural act containing its legal status in the nature of things. It requires neither punishment nor reward, whether in case of doing, or in case of not doing. Man can behave naturally. In natural behavior, value and fact are unified. Religious law is not only positive law but also natural law.

VI - Aesthetic Unity between Fact and Value: Image as Value

The Qur'an, the source of Islamic revelation, has unified in advance description and evaluation. There is no pure description of the world without evaluation. The creation of the world means contingency in life, and consequently the dialectic between life and death, culminating in resurrection. Since revelation is sent to mankind regardless of degrees of education, the best meaning of the expression was the image where fact and value are unified. The image resembles the fact, but at the same time it carries a value. God, the World, man, society, everything can be expressed in images. In the aesthetic dimension, informative and ethical languages are unified. Images are usually means of expression of the unseen world.

However, even for the seen world, description is at the same time an evaluation. In the theory of perception, sensation is only an organic impression and becomes perception by the awakened consciousness. This is not only a description, but an evaluation, not only material observation, but also a moral judgment. Evaluation is not external to description, as if the fact itself is a value.

The affirmation of the unseen world is not only a factual judgment, but also a moral one. The Transcendence is not only an Attribute of God, but also an attribute of man. As far as God transcends all human images and descriptions, man also transcends his own perceptive world. Both God and man are not mere existence, but also values.

The description of history is an evaluation of previous people's experiences. The purpose of narratives is not giving historical information about facts and events, but drawing the lesson for the present generation to remember and to be reminded of. Historical laws are indeed moral laws. The end of the era of miracles is a recognition of natural laws and the necessary events in nature. It is also a Value, the power of reason to understand and to discover, the power of the will to understand and to discover, the power of the will to apply the laws and to use them for the benefit of mankind. The end of despotism is not only a political fact, but also a moral value. Human consciousness, aware of its freedom, shakes the foundation of despotism.

The unity between Fact and Value appears in the Qur'anic review of Judeo Christian ethics, regarding two doctrines, the

Jewish covenant and Christian monasticism. The Jewish covenant is a fact, but without moral value: (1) a unilateral covenant in which one side, namely God only, gives everything, and the other side, the people, does not commit to anything; (2) a material covenant in which God gives land, city, temple, victory and nutrition, and not a spiritual one; (3) a collective covenant offered to the people, saved thanks to the remnant, not to the individual who saves himself by his own actions. Such a covenant may be a fact not a value. On the contrary, a contractual covenant in which every party is committed to fulfil the clauses of the contract from his side, a conditional covenant which can be broken from one side (God) if the other side breaks it from his side, an individual covenant in which everyone is responsible for himself and accountable for his own deed. Such a covenant is a moral covenant in which man is committed to virtue and moral law and given Divine powers of eternal life. Only in such covenant are fact and value unified.

Christian monasticism is one of the highest values in any ethical code, but it is not a common fact, a common norm of behavior, or a usual style of life. Monasticism is only for heroes, not for the rest of the mortals. Islam prefers the intrusion of monasticism in daily life, the unity between fact and value.

VII - Conclusion

The unity between fact and value is not something given in advance, "un fait accompli," without human effort, but a mere project, an ideal to be realized through human action. The Unity of God, the Tawhid, is an active noun, not a substantive. That means an activity in the world, a process of unification between two things, not a ready made unity.

Therefore, the classical distinction in Western Ethics between Sein and Sein-sollen, as if they were two different judgments, is based on a primordial and ordinary duality as an assumption. In praxis, there is no such separation between fact and value. The origin of this separation is purely historical, in the idealism of the 18th century and positivism in the 19th century. Kant separated the Sein from the Sein-Sollen, the pure reason from the practical reason, one for science and the other for ethics, one for facts and the other for values. The purpose was to destroy knowledge in order to build faith (*). As a reaction the opposite view was taken, keeping the separation between fact and value, but this time destroying the value and maintaining the fact. This happened in 19th century Europe, during the birth of positivism versus idealism, and after the glorification of objectivism against subjectivism. It is then a historical or a circumstantial separation, not an eidetic one.

Nicolai Hartmann and Max Scheler may have reached the Islamic approach, the first by attributing to the value ontological status, the second through the affirmation of the material value-ethic (Materiale Wertethik) (**).

(*) "Ich musste dass Wissen aufheben um ein Platz zum Glauben zu finden" Kant. C.R. Vernunft.

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MORALITY AND THE INTEGRITY OF ISLAMIC SOCIETY (*).

I - Introduction

The purpose of this short paper is not to make an objective analysis of morality and its relation to Islamic society. Pure academism in social science is almost a hardship and an impossible endeavor. Behavioral sciences are always tied to motivations, which reveal human conflicts.

This paper tries only to suggest some directing ideas to persuade modern readers towards thought and action and to propose a new interpretation of the common knowledge we all have about Islamic morality and society. Sometimes detailed and microscopic analysis of historical data blinds the total vision and makes remote abstractions of historical and cultural motivations. Computers accumulate knowledge but cannot read it. If it reads, it cannot decipher.

It may be hard to understand history without reconstructing past experiences according to present similar situations. The analysis of the present is the only way to understand the past. The present itself is the last phase of the development of the past.

A vision of the streets may be more helpful than the "Encyclopedia of Islam." Hearing the heart palpation of a common man may have more significance than all orientalistic theories. A living testimony may be valued over all literature on the subject. The analysis of living experiences is, after all, a rigorous method in humanities, namely phenomenology.

(*) Symposium, Resurgent Islam, prospects and implications 2-5 October 1980, Durham, N.H., U.S.A.

II - Morality as Ontology

Morality in Islam is not only the knowledge of good and bad linked to epistemology, but the Being itself in movement. That means Ontology. Knowing has been given in revelation while Being is implemented by man. Reason can arrive to the same revealed knowledge, but this time through nature. In the natural light, knowing and being are the same. Monotheism (Tawhid) means the unity of the human person, far away from all forms of dualistic behavior like hypocrisy, doubletalk and changing position according to circumstances. Thinking, saying, feeling and doing are identical. It means also the unity of society, society without classes, without poor and rich. Class distinctions are contrary to unity and to the equality of every human being in front of the same universal principle. It also means unity of mankind, without any racial discriminations or economic distinctions between rich and poor nations, developed and underdeveloped societies, Western and non-Western peoples.

Divine names are themselves ethical norms for human behavior namely, Justice, Mercy, Forgiveness. Mystics already declared that their purpose in life is to assimilate Divine Attributes and to transfer them to human attributes. God as a rational and universal principle denotes rational and universal ethical norms. Transcendence, greatly appreciated by Mu'tazilism, makes the individual always looking for the beyond, trying to reach the maximum of universalism.

If Tawhid gives the human being the promises of morality and prepares him to the realm of values, all Islamic assertions (dogmas, beliefs, articles of faith are not suitable words) come out of Tawhid. Free will as exposed by Mu'tazilites, reason as capable

of distinction between good and bad, good per-se and bad per-se, namely moral objective knowledge. All these promises gave the way for a free, rational and objective moral action. Finality in the world, law of good and better (Al-Salah Wa Al-Aslah) give the human being the sense or purpose and initiate him towards moral progress. Even eschatology opens another dimension for the Transcendence in the world that of eternal justice. Injustice in its final term in this world is ephemeral and inauthentic. The principle of hope for a better future protects the individual from all kinds of moral depression. Action as the unity between the ideal and the real, the degrees of faith between strong or weak faith call man for moral competition, to show his powers and his bravery, and to attain moral heroism. Man's responsibility for the State, his role in choosing the head of the State, his function in checking and supervising, makes moral action the basis of the socio-political system.

Morality coming out of Tawhid is not only a theoretical description of an ideal man, but once its conditions are realized, individual ethics is transformed into world ethics. The confession of faith (Shahada) means witness. Etymologically, it means to see, to attest and to denounce. The first article of faith in Islam is to be aware of what is going on in the society, and to take a stand on the major issues of the time. It requires a denunciation of the distance between the ideal and the real, between Islamic law and its application in society. The first act of a Muslim in society is to negate, to oppose, and to reject. The linguistic form of the utterance is itself negative, thus "no divinity." Because the distance between the ideal and the real can never be totally abolished, Islam always becomes an opposition movement. Therefore, Islam means activism, political as well as social. It is

the duty of every Muslim, knowing Islamic law "to order the good and to prevent the evil." Every Muslim is responsible not only for himself, but also for others, his family and his society and for the whole world. He has a vocation on earth, to fulfill the word of God and to transform his stewardship of God on earth. The role of Islamic government as Ibn Taymiya says, is Hisba, that means the supervision of the application of Islamic law. The jurists have the power to remove the head of the State if he fails in the application of Islamic law. Ontology in Islam finds its final accomplishment in political opposition.

III - Morality as World-Affirmation

Islamic morality recognizes human nature and admits the reality of the world. It does not deny any of components of human nature. Self-torture, asceticism and mortification of the body are unknown in Islam. Islamic morality does not mean self-control to overcome human weakness against human desires, but it is based essentially on the assertion of human reality and the fulfillment of the self, against all kinds of frustrations and privations. Islamic morality and human nature are the same. Nature is perfect, innocent and complete. There is no need ever for Grace because there is no predicament, no peccatum, no ontological evil inherent in the World.

Islamic morality is not puritanism, catharsis or even pietism, the pure versus the impure, but rather the intrusion in the world, working with dirty hands and changing the world. Islam is not a religion of world negation like Indian religions, but that of world affirmation. Mysticism in that sense is based on the distinction between the pure and the impure, calling for the pure against the impure ends by complete failure. Materialism is a reaction to

monasticism. Marriage, children, wealth, joy of life are an integral part of Islamic morality. The protection of life and of wealth are major intentions in revelation.

Islamic ethics is not religious ethics in the usual sense, that is, not obedience to the will of God against the will of man obeying his orders, following religious prescriptions with sorrow in the soul. It is more a flourishing of the self. Proscriptions are simple warnings against energy loss and dismantling of nature. Prohibition of sin protects intellectual powers. The application of Islamic law is not a restriction imposed on the development of nature, but rather an auxiliary factor to help the flourishing of nature. The penal code in Islam, always described as severe and cruel, aims at orienting nature and correcting its course. Physical capacity is the condition to perform Islamic cult.

Islam has a power to identify itself with indigenous and primitive cultures. Islam does not superimpose on nature any superficial and external element which can be rejected easily as a foreign member in a natural body. Neither does it extract any component from nature, because it would go back to its natural setting. Islam may stay calm and invisible in the heart of the masses for several years, but it does not die out. It remains latent till it emerges again.

IV- Morality as Socio-Political Structure

Islamic morality extends form the individual level to the social. Society is the final destination of revelation, from theory to practice, from word to socio-political structure. Every article of faith and every ritual have social connotations. The famous five pillars of Islam have social aspects. The Tawhid itself means the formation of a society without classes, given the unity of the

Umma. Prayer in Islam is done in common at least once a week to see the others, and preferably every day five times a day. Friday speech is a political speech in a religious rally. The Zakat is directed to the poor. Fasting leads to identification with the existence of the hungry and thirsty. Pilgrimage is an annual conference for all the Muslims to know and to meet each other.

Moreover, Islam is a social religion. Social relations (Mu'amalat) in Islam are much more stressed than individual cult (I'badat). In case of choice between individual ethics and social ethics, the second comes first. The other in Islam is respected as if he was a member of one's family. Helping and protecting the other is a real manifestation of man's piety. The highest degree of faith is securing the life of others. Men's sins are forgiven just by giving, even if he gives a thirsty dog to drink.

Islamic conservatism, identified nowadays, especially in Egypt, with Islamic resurgence, stresses morality, not as the foundation of socio-political structure, but as rigorous, formalist and individual ethics, such as veil, rigorous sexual ethics, beard, white dress (jalabiya), loud calls for prayers, pilgrimage groups. The socio-political structure is left aside consciously or unconsciously, for the time being or for ever. In this case, socio-political activism trying to change the status quo is more likely to cope with Islamic morality rather than Islamic conservatism. To escape that kind of dualism between formal ritualism and social activism, Islam conceived morality as the basis of its social structure. The famous theory of (Istikhlaf), that God owns everything and that man is only the steward of God on earth, frees human consciousness from the power of matter and the desire to possess "things" rather than "Works." God is the eminent owner as well as the only heir. Man is only the steward

of God on Earth. What he has is only a deposit to be returned to its proper destiny. Man does not own but he has the right to use, to invest and to benefit from the deposit he has. He cannot misuse, monopolize or exploit. If it happens, the State interferes. It has the right to dispossess, to confiscate and to nationalize. The Islamic State is the representative of the common interests of the community. The State can even promulgate laws defending the common interests of the community, which are the positive foundations of Islamic law.

Therefore, Islamic "socialism" is a result of the theory of Istikhlaf, not that abundant literature written in our generation justifying Arab socialism against its religious critics. In Islam, the poor have the right in the wealth of the rich, more than the Zakat. Equality in creation requires equal opportunities and equal income for all. Inheritance in Islam is a probable situation and a conditional fact. It may occur and it may not. Anyone who dies leaving behind him for his descendants something to inherit and the community needed it while he was alive is a sinner. A society where there is one needy is not an Islamic society. Moreover, in Islam, work is the only source of value. No one can make profit from man's work, a capitalist or even the State. An Islamic economy is a non-profit economy. That is why usury is prohibited.

The political system in Islam is also based on the same ethical norms. Tawhid is equal to freedom after the liberation of human consciousness from all the yokes of pseudo-gods. Freedom requires a political system based on free choice for all. Shura (consultation) prevents all forms of despotism, unilateralism in opinions and dictatorship. Anyone can be elected regardless of his social class or of his genealogy.

V - Morality as Laws of History

Morality is not only a manifestation of Tawhid or the basis of society, but it is also identical to laws of history. Progress in history is conditioned by moral progress. Regression in history is a result of regression in morality. Nations disappeared in history because they did not follow the moral law. Other nations survived because they followed the moral law.

The prophets are eminent examples. They appeared in their societies to denounce disobedience to moral law. They warned their people and even foresaw the destruction of the State, once disobedience to moral law continues. The succession of the prophets and the repetition of the experience had one aim, to teach humanity the lesson and to accumulate historical experiences.

Abraham is an example of Tawhid against the closing of human consciousness. Idol-worshiping is an error regarding the efficient cause and power in the universe. Abraham opened his heart and his mind, feeling the Transcendence and conceiving it. Tawhid is the ontological base for the moral law.

Adam, Noah and Ismail, all gave an example of obedience to the moral law. Adam because of his disobedience, his status changed. He repented and has been forgiven and learned the experience of obedience to the moral law. Satan (Iblis) also disobeyed the order of God to prostrate before Adam. His status was changed. Those who obeyed Noah were saved in the ark, those who disobeyed, including his son, perished in the waters. Ismail obeyed his father and accepted willingly and in complete faith to be sacrificed to fulfill the Will of God. Zacharia, Yahia, Mariam, all of them gave an example of piety and survived the slanders of their society.

Moses warned Israel against disobedience of the Tora, of Divine Grace. But Israel disobeyed. It worshiped the golden calf, broke the law of Sabath, refused to follow their leader and struggle with him for the cause. Israel wanted an absolute and unconditional gift from God, without any requirement from their side. It conceived the covenant in a unilateral way, God gives victory, wealth, land, prosperity regardless of their obedience to the moral law. The election became an arbitrary act of God, without any moral foundation.

Jesus gave an example of piety, love and tolerance in order that society can live beyond the formalism of the law. Happiness and beatitude can be easily acquired by renunciation and self-abnegation. What would a human being win if he wins the world and loses himself? The Kingdom of Heaven is not on this earth. Saving the individual comes before saving the society. Faith would assume the function of Tawhid.

Mohammed combined Tawhid, not only with individual salvation but with the creation of a new society based on Tawhid, which presents, according to Sayyed Qutb, three principles: liberation of human consciousness, human equality and social solldarity. The first who adopted Islam were the oppressed, the poor, the slaves, the blacks, the rejected from their society, or in modern terms, the "wretched of the earth." The old society collapsed and a new society was built. An Islamic State was based on the covenant of Medina, where every community was recognized as an Umma inside the big umma, enjoying their rights, laws, customs, language and free worship.

The expansion of Islam in the universe, and its continuation in history, were conditioned by the application of the law. Faith

has no other manifestation except in the "good deed." Those who will inherit the whole earth are those who live and behave according to the moral law. Islam offered a new covenant of a Universal code of ethics to all mankind to be held and fulfilled.

Progress and regression in history are tied to human action, individual as well as mass action. Action is a manifestation of the Universal principle in the good deed. This is the vocation of man on earth, to fulfil the moral law and to secure its realization in the world. And this is history.

VI – Conclusion: Explosion of Islamic Identity

Morality in Islam is based on the affirmation of Islamic identity in the individual, in society and in history. Once this identity is threatened, surrounded or pressed, an explosion may occur without any expectation or predictions.

Imperialism would be one reason for the explosion. Imperial power takes the place of God as supreme Power. Tawhid functions and the act of negation in the Shahada is launched against the association with God of any other power. Imperialism is a negation of freedom, Tawhid is the affirmation of freedom. Therefore an explosion occurs. Imperialism implies an unequal relation between nations, a relation between master and slave, while Tawhid requires the equality of all nations in front of One Universal principle. Imperialism undertakes the endeavor of usurping national wealth, while Tawhid requires the eminent ownership by God. Imperialism goes beyond political and economic domination to cultural domination. Westernzation became a necessary consequence of imperial domination. Tawhid is the assertion of self-identity and the rejection of all kinds of occultation and cultural alienation. In such a situation,

Tawhid explodes and generates sweeping mass-energy, as in the Islamic revolution in Iran, which took the slogan of "Allahu Akbar, Qasim Al-Jabbarim," which means "God is Great, and victorious over Despots."

Zionism would be another external pressure which makes Islamic identity explode. Tawhid means not only the unity of human personality between thought, feeling, words and actions, or the unity of society exempt from class distinctions, but also the unity of mankind. All nations are equal in front of One God. Tawhid implies the rejection of all kinds of racial discrimination, ethno-centrism and egoism. Zionism as an affirmation of a certain nation as a separate one, a separate blood and a separate code of ethics, would be the negation of Tawhid, as Tawhid implies Zionism's negation. Islamic identity explodes once an exclusive ethnic State is planted in the heart of the Umma. It is a matter of principle, rather than a political problem which can be solved by partition. God is not really in the Heavens (Christianity) or on Earth (Zionism), but is the God of Heavens and Earth inseparably (Islam).

Capitalism as well as feudalism would also be another factor for the explosion of Islamic identity. Capitalism means the power of capital in the hands of a minority as private ownership, regardless of the poor and exploited majority. Tawhid means a society without classes and the equality of all in front of One God. Tawhid requires a constant flow of the common wealth for the benefit of the whole community. Nationalism in that sense in the Muslim world became identical to Islamic identity. National economy and the transition towards socialism became common dominators in Muslim societies.

Reaction may also be a reason for the explosion of Islamic identity. Reaction means social stagnation and immobility, protection of the status quo, obstruction of progressive forces, obscurantism and imitation. Islam is a progressive force in history, like all religions in their primitiveness. Prophets represented the new power of oppressed classes and the interests of the silent majority. Successive revelation helped in the progress of mankind and the liberation of human consciousness. The accomplishment of prophecy means the fulfillment of its goal: the independence of human reason and the autonomy of the will. Humanity becomes self-sufficient, capable of knowing and of doing. Therefore reaction, being a backward movement imposing tutorship on reason and will, goes against the progressive movement of revelation.

Unfortunately these obstructions of Tawhid came from the West to the Muslim World. No wonder if the Muslim World explodes nowadays! Tawhid is a "dynamo" which works in its proper time according to the amount of pressures on Islamic identity. The glorious Western Culture in the last five centuries may have been just to itself, but surely it has been unjust to the non-Western World. Resurgent Islam may bring justice to the non-Western World and tells the story of mankind in a more equitable way.

This Book

Islam in the Modern World is a collection of essays of the famous contemporary Egyptian and Muslim philosopher, Hassan Hanafi, the follower of Afghani, Iqbal and Sayyed Qutb, the founder of the Islamic left and liberation Islamic theology and the author of the most prestigious Arab philosophical project "Tradition and modernism".

Volume one **Religion, Ideology and Development** contains four sections: Theology, mysticism and ethics; A case study, Egypt 1952 - 1978; Nature, science and technology; Philosophy, old and new; It tries to answer the major questions of the Muslim World such as: Development, Social Justice, Income Distribution, Greenery, Urbanism, Ethics, Philosophy proposing a Thematic Interpretation of the Quran.